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South Pañchāla

A STUDY IN HISTORICAL & CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

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Dr. R. K. Paul

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SOUTH PAÑCHĀLA

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SOUTH PAÑCHĀLA

A Study in Historical and Cultural Geography

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Foreword

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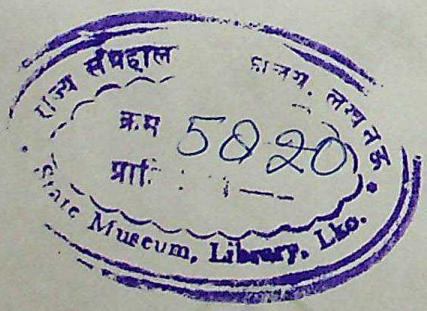

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In Memory of My
Younger Brother Harsh

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Foreword

The study of historical geography has assumed new dimensions in the present times. In recent Europe and the United States, efforts have been made to study historical geography in a broad perspective. Emphasis is now placed on various facets of cultural history, which reveal themselves when a judicious analysis is made of the geographical background of a country.

The location, climate and other physical features of a particular land, with pretentions of a cultural set-up, require an in-depth study of the factors underlying the nature of that culture. In this regard, the probe involves certain inter-disciplines, such as geology, archaeology, history, botany, zoology, anthropology and psychology. This broad-based study is necessary for understanding, in a chronological sequence, the progress of material culture of a country.

This kind of scientific study of geography has opened before us interesting new vistas for the study of history and culture of different nations and the inter-relations among them. It has been possible now to ascertain the main causes underlying the growth and fall of nations, their material and philosophical advancement and the inter-connections among different nations. For the students of history and the allied disciplines, the importance of a fair knowledge of geography can hardly be over-emphasized.

The region of South Pañchāla is credited with a chequered history. It represents the upper part of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab, which bristled with cultural activities in the past. From the proto-historic times to c. 1200 A.D. this area contributed considerably to the administrative norms, socio-economic growth and the development of literature and fine arts.

The present work incorporates the findings of extensive explo-

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rations in the area by its author. The archaeological and literary evidences bearing on the history and geography of the region have carefully been analyzed and interpreted. The book highlights the activities of the people of the region in various branches of life and thought.

The Vedic Aryans made this region a centre of their activities. Scholars like Pravāhaṇa Jaivali and Uddālaka Āruṇi were great philosophers, who gave new directions to Hindu religion and philosophy. After the decline of the Gupta power upto the twelfth century A.D., Kanauj was the pivot of political power in North India. The Maukharis, the Vardhanas, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the Gāṇaḍvālas ruled, one after the other, and made this region not only a centre of political supremacy but also a cultural centre of considerable literary, religious and artistic growth.

K.D. Bajpai

Sagar

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Preface

The present work is based on original literary and archaeological sources and on a detailed survey of the area by the author himself, is one of the few studies on the regional historical geography so far done in this country. It is the first comprehensive and integrated work on ancient geography of South Pañchāla. The volume highlights the activities of the people of lower Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley and their cultural developments from the earliest times to c. 1200 A.D.

I express my indebtedness to a number of scholars and institutions. To begin with, my teacher Professor K.D. Bajpai, former Tagore Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Sagar, who supervised this work, deserves a special mention. His vast erudition and encyclopaedic knowledge are well known. He not only suggested to me the topic, but also took adequate care to guide me throughout the entire process of my work under his benevolent care, I have learnt to present the subject-matter in a scientific and methodical form. His constant encouragement has not only helped me in my work but has left an indelible impression as well. My indebtedness and gratitude to him are too deep for words to express.

The examiners of my thesis, Dr. B.N. Puri (former Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Lucknow) and Dr. A.B.L. Awasthi (former Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Sagar) offered constructive detailed suggestions to me. My sincere thanks are due to them.

The late Dr. R.K. Dikshit, former Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Lucknow, was kind enough to discuss several problems with me. His works and his constant blessings gave me considerable strength in various

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stages of this work. I am thankful to Dr. G.K. Agnihotri, Medical Officer, Kanauj and Shri M.L. Wahal of the Archaeological Survey of India, Agra circle for their kind help in my survey work.

I extend my thanks to all the previous scholars who worked on the historical geography of India and whose publications have been utilized by me with profit. I am grateful to Dr. N.P. Joshi (former Director, State Museum, Lucknow), Dr. A.K. Srivastava (Director, State Museum, Mathura), Dr. R.R. Tripathi (Director, Allahabad Museum) and Shri R.C. Singh (Director of Archaeology, Uttar Pradesh) for providing necessary information to me.

I take this opportunity to thank the librarians and their staff in the Universities at Sagar, Kanpur and Allahabad. The rich libraries of the Archaeological Survey of India and National Museum, New Delhi and of the State Museum, Lucknow provided much useful material to me. The illustrations and collections from various sources have been duly acknowledged. I also thank Shri Sheo Ram Singh of P.P.N. College, Kanpur and Shri N.P. Sharma of Sagar University for their help in preparation of maps.

I am thankful to Sri Hazari Mull Banthia, President, K. Bulakichand Phulchand Banthia Charitable Trust, Kanpur for giving me substantial financial help for the publication of this work.

I would like to record my heartful thanks to Shri Ninan Abraham, former Principal, Christ Church College, Kanpur (University of Kanpur) for extending necessary facilities to enable me to complete the work early. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude also to my other teachers Shri S.D. Misra, Dr. R.N. Misra (Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Gwalior), Dr. U.V. Singh (Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Kurukshetra University) and Dr. S.S. Awasthi (Head of the Department of History, V.S.S.D. College, University of Kanpur).

The study is based on my thesis, which was approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Sagar in 1977. This work of mine may be regarded as a token of payment of my ṛṣiṛṇa. Finally I would like to express my grateful thanks to my wife without whose encouragement and help this work could not have been completed.

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R.K. Paul

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TRANSLITERATION TABLE

अ	a	क	k	ड	ḍ	म	m
आ	ā	ख	kh	ढ	ḍh	य	y
इ	i	ग	g	ण	ṇ	र	r
ई	ī	घ	gh	त	t	ल	l
उ	u	ङ	ṅ	थ	th	व	v
ऊ	ū	च	c	द	d	श	ś
ऋ	ṛ	छ	ch	ध	dh	ष	ṣ
ए	e	ज	j	न	n	स	s
ऐ	ai	झ	jh	प	p	ह	h
ओ	o	ञ	ñ	फ	ph	क्ष	kṣ
औ	au	ट	ṭ	ब	b	ं	ṃ/ṁ
		ठ	ṭh	भ	bh	ः	ḥ

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B. ,, ,, ,, Chhatarpur.
3A. ,, ,, ,, Jājmau.
B. ,, ,, ,, Jankhaṭ.
4A. ,, ,, ,, Kampil.
B. ,, ,, ,, Kanauj.
5A. ,, ,, ,, Lālā Bhagat
B. ,, ,, ,, Mūsānagar.
6A. ,, ,, ,, Rādhan.
B. ,, ,, ,, Sankissā.
7A. ,, ,, ,, Ujjhān.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.	:	Ancient India.
A.B.O.R.I.	:	Annals of Bhandarkar Research Oriental Institute, Poona.
A.G.I.	:	Ancient Geography of India, Cunningham.
Ann. Rept. Prov. Muse. Luck.	:	Annual Report of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
A.S.I., A.R.	:	Archaeology Survey of India, Annual Report.
A.S.I.R.	:	Archaeology Survey of India Report, Cunningham.
A.S.M.P.	:	Asiatic Society Monthly Bulletin, Calcutta.
A.S.S.	:	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.
A.U.T.R.	:	Agra University Journal of Research.
B.I.	:	Bibliotheca India, Calcutta.
B.M.A.U.P.	:	Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology, U.P.
B.S.S.	:	Bombay Sanskrit Series.
B.U.P.H.S.	:	Bulletin of U.P. Historical Society.
Cat. Arch. Coll. Ind. Muse.	:	Catalogue of Archaeological Collection in Indian Museum.
C.I.I.	:	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Con. Rept. St. Muse. Luck.	:	Consolidated Report of the State Museum, Lucknow.
Ep. Ind.	:	Epigraphia Indica.
G.E.A.M.I.	:	Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Medieval India, Ed. Bajpai.
G.O.S.	:	Gaekward Oriental Series.
H.I.E.D.	:	History of India as Told by its Own

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		Historians, Elliot and Dowson.
H.G.A.I.	:	Historical Geography of Ancient India, Law.
I.A.R.	:	Indian Archaeology, A Review.
I.C.	:	Islamic Culture.
I.C.	:	Indian Culture.
I.H.Q.	:	Indian Historical Quarterly.
I.H.R.	:	Indian Historical Review.
I.N.S.	:	Indian Numismatic Studies, Bajpai.
Ind. Ant.	:	Indian Antiquary.
I.S.	:	Indian Studies Past and Present.
J.A.S.B.	:	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.B.R.S.	:	Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.B.O.R.S.	:	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J.B.R.S.	:	Journal of Bihar Research Society.
J.G.J.R.I.	:	Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute.
J.I.H.	:	Journal of Indian History.
J.I.M.	:	Journal of Indian Museums.
J.O.I.O.	:	Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda.
J.N.S.I.	:	Journal of Numismatic Society of India.
J.N.G.S.I.	:	Journal of National Geographical Society of India.
J.R.A.S.B.	:	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.U.P.H.S.	:	Journal of U.P. Historical Society.
M.A.S.I.	:	Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India.
M.R.I.	:	Mountains and Rivers of India, Ed. Law.
MBH	:	Mahābhārata
P.E.	:	Pillar Edict
Q.R.H.S.	:	Quarterly Review of Historical Society, Calcutta.
R.E.	:	Rock Edict.
RV	:	Ṛigveda
V.B.Q.	:	Viśvabhārti Quarterly.

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Introduction

It is a recognised fact that geography exercises considerable influence on the evolution of history, culture, trade and commerce of a region. The development of civilization, in a large measure, is based on the geographical setting and the climatic conditions of a particular region.

So far as the ancient history of the region under study is concerned, the impact of the geographical factors appears to have been quite significant. The alluvial soil and the congenial climate of the Doab Valley provided ample impetus for the economic, social, and religious growth. The big rivers like the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Kālīnadī and the Rāmagaṅgā provided facilities for pastoral activities and defensible sites. The important ancient sites, like Kampil, Kanauj, Bhojpur, Biṭhūr, Jājmau, Sankissā and Mūsānagar were situated on the banks of the rivers.

Agriculture has been a predominant feature of the Doab (antarvedī) area from very early times. The soil of the area being good for agriculture, was also favourable for making pottery, terracotta figurines, sun-baked and fire-baked bricks. This gave birth to the various fine arts and architectural activities.

The flat nature of the land provided good opportunities for navigation, irrigation and for the reconstruction of roads. The rivers of the area carried a considerable share of water-ways traffic. The Uttarāpatha route, joining Pāṭaliputra with Takṣaśilā, passed through this region. It gave impetus to the trade and commerce

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and helped in the prosperity of the region.

The Vedic Aryans, who contributed largely to the political and cultural development of the country, made this region as one of the main centres of their activities after they spread their culture in this area. They made advancements in political, economic and cultural fields. Various branches of knowledge developed under their hegemony. In the historical period several kingdoms were established in the Madhyadeśa. The Kurus, the Pañchālas, the Nandas, the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas, the Guptas, the Maukharis, the Vardhanas, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the Gāhadvālas contributed, to a great extent, in the progress of civilization and culture in this region.

A proper appraisal of the ancient geography is necessary for an adequate understanding of the historical development. In so far as India is concerned, no detailed and compact work is available on her ancient geography. Alexander Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' ushered in a new era in Indian historical researches. His work mainly deals with the itinerary of the two Chinese pilgrims, Fahien and Hiuen-Tsang. Cunningham identified several places referred to by these Chinese pilgrims and also mentioned in ancient literature. In the above work and also in his Survey Reports he embodied his archaeological discoveries throughout northern and central India. Fuhrer, Martin, Pargiter, Smith, Sylvan Levi, Sten Konow, Thomas and several other scholars contributed to the study of ancient Indian geography.

Later, Nandolal Dey compiled his 'Geographical Dictionary'. It may be observed here that this work is not a systematic study of ancient Indian geography. B.C. Law's 'Geography of Early Buddhism' attempts, for the first time, at presenting a geographical picture of ancient India drawn mainly from the Pāli sources. He supplemented his study with several succeeding works on the subject, which have thrown ample light on ancient geography of the country.

Among the recent works on Indian historical geography, mention may be made of the following: H.C. Raychaudhuri's 'Studies in Indian Antiquities', Jaychandra Vidyālankara's Bhārata Bhūmi Aur Uske Nivāsī, Motichandra's 'Sārthavāha', and 'Geographical And Economic Studies In The Mahābhārata: Upāyanaparva', J.F. Fleet's 'The Geographical List Of The Bṛihatsaṁhitā', V.S. Agrawala's 'India As Known To Pāṇinī', D.C. Sircar's 'Studies

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In The Geography Of Ancient And Medieval India', and 'Cosmography And Geography In Early Indian Literature', S.M. Ali's 'The Geography Of The Purāṇas', P. Gupta's, 'Geography Of Ancient Indian Inscriptions', M.P. Tripathi's 'Development of Geographical Knowledge In Ancient India', V.S. Upadhyaya's 'Buddha Kālīna Bhāratiya Bhūgola' and A.B.L. Awasthi's 'Prāchīna Bhārata Kā Bhogolika Swarūp'.

Among the recent European scholars in the field, the name of W.G. East ranks foremost. In his works he has dealt with the broad concept of historical geography, covering the economic and cultural aspects also along with the physical details. He and some other scholars have paved the way for a broad-based process for the study of the regional history.

The importance of a regional history is fully recognised now. Stress is laid on the study of location, topography and historical geography of various regions to prepare necessary basis for the comprehensive political and cultural history. The geographical background is given due importance for the study of various facets of regional history. Keeping the above criteria of a broad-based historical geography in view, the present study of the two districts of Uttar Pradesh, namely Kanpur and Farrukhabad, has been attempted.

In ancient times the area now covered by the districts of Kanpur and Farrukhabad was included in the South Pañchāla Kingdom. The district of Kanpur has been bifurcated into two with effect from the 8th June 1976. The Kanpur tahsil is now known as Kanpur Nagar District. The rest of the erstwhile district, with the five remaining tahsils, is termed as Kanpur Dehat District. In the present thesis the author has applied the alphabet (N) for the Kanpur Nagar district and (D) for Kanpur Dehat district.

The present publication is the first comprehensive and integrated work on ancient geography of South Pañchāla. The source-material from the Brahminical, Buddhist and Jaina literature, the astronomical works and lexicons has been judiciously utilized in the present study. The accounts of the Greek historians and the travel records of distinguished writers Fahien, Hiuen-Tsang, Alberuni, etc. have been duly incorporated. Other sources utilized by the author are ancient inscriptions, coins, seals and sealings obtained from the area and the contiguous regions.

The field work, conducted in this region by previous scholars,

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has been augmented by a fresh detailed survey of the entire region by the author. The new material obtained as a result of the survey work has been utilized in the present study. Necessary sketch maps of historical sites have been prepared. A few selected photographs of important monuments and sculptures have been given.

The historical geography is not merely on enumeration of different entities, such as rivers, lakes, monuments, towns and villages. It has a wider connotation which centres round the economic and cultural development of man on a broad basis.

The purpose of the present study is to probe into the causes and effects of the geographical forces which in a long stretch of period of several centuries, moulded the life and thought of an important region in northern India.

The Doab region presents a changing panorama, the elements of which were natural as well as man-made. The present-day human geography of the region under review is a product of a considerably long period, during which man occupied and modified the regional environment. The effect of human life on any region expresses itself in various ways. According to W.G. East: "The intrusion and settlement provide one of the most striking reactions to, and modifications of, geographical environments. Men moving in groups, along lines of least resistance, intrude into and take possession of those lands which offer them, according to their cultural conditions and aspirations, optimum opportunities for the satisfaction of their needs".[1] The process of settlements associated with the adoption of the soil to the needs of the agriculturalist forms one of the main themes of human geography. It may, however, be observed that the pattern of the settlements differed in case of this country from several countries in Europe.

The human cultural growth, in its various facets, such as religious, economic, political and artistic, with the changes in the selection of sites, is of great geographical significance.

Prof. East rightly observes in this connection: "The utilization of the soil, together with other economic activities, all of which in different degrees are related to the geographical setting, develops subsequently to settlement. The characteristics of settled lands in respect of soils, climate, drainage and natural vegetation present varied possibilities which, according to their level of technical skill and knowledge, settlers attempt to exploit."[2] After establishing their settlements of different kinds, people engage in several

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types of social, cultural, religious and art activities.

In the present work the topic has been discussed in eight chapters. Chapter I deals with the physical geography of the region giving the locations, boundaries, topography, soils, agricultural products, minerals, flora and fauna, climate, rivers and transport and communication. Chapter II discusses the main factors of the political history of the region. Chapter III and IV deal with the rivers and the ancient Janapada of Pañchāla. Chapter V gives a critical account of the towns and villages. The places have been dealt with alphabetically. Chapter VI discusses the trade routes and the next Chapter gives an assessment of the economic geography. The last Chapter discusses the cultural advancement of the region upto C. 1200 A.D.

The present work is one of the few studies on regional historical geography so far done in this country. An endeavour has been made to assess the development of human progress made in one of the important regions of 'Antarvedī', which in ancient times was included in 'Madhyadeśa' of the country.

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1. An Historical Geography of Europe, Intro, P. XV.
2. Ibid., P. XXII.

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Physical Features

The area under study comprises two districts of Uttar Pradesh, namely Kanpur and Farrukhabad. This area was included in the region known as Brahmāvarta. The geographical factors have contributed to the shaping of the history and culture of this region.

Location & Boundaries

The district of Kanpur lies between the lat 25° 26′ and 26° 58′ north and long 79° 31′ and 80° 34′ east. To the north-east beyond the river Gaṅgā, which forms the boundary, lie the districts of Hardoi and Unnao. On the south across the Yamunā are Hamirpur and Jalaun districts. On the south-east the boundary marches with the Bindki Tahsil of Fatehpur. To the west and north-west are Auraiya and Bidhuna tahsils of Etawah district. It has an irregular quadrilateral. The total area of Kanpur district is 2,36,166 sq. miles.[1]

District Farrukhabad is situated between lat 26° and 28° north and long 78° and 80° east. On the west Farrukhabad marches with the Etah and Mainpuri districts, on the south with Etawah, to the east lies Hardoi and to the north are Shahjahanpur and Budaun. It has a shape of a very irregular parallelogram. Its total area is 1,684.6 sq. miles.[2]

Topography

The rivers Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Rāmgangā and Kālīnadī divide the

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entire area into several physical divisions. Each one of these has varying physical features. In ancient times the tract lying between the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā was known as 'Antarvedi'. The ancient nomenclature is retained even today in the name 'Antarveda'.

There are six tahsils in the Kanpur district: (*i*) Kanpur, (*ii*) Bilhaur, (*iii*) Bhognipur, (*iv*) Derapur, (*v*) Akbarpur, and (*vi*) Ghatampur. The last mentioned tahsil is the largest in area. Recently with effect from the 8th June, 1976 the district has been bifurcated into two: Kanpur city and tahsil now from Kanpur Nagar District. The rest five tahsils are now comprised in the Kanpur Dehat District. The headquarters of both the districts are in Kanpur. The Farrukhabad district consists of four tahsils, namely (*i*) Farrukhabad, (*ii*) Kaimganj, (*iii*) Chhibramau, and (*iv*) Kanauj.

The tract of land is rich in alluvial soil. It is an affluent crop-growing area. The Doab region has been a rich and fertile tract. This fact has been corroborated, by the Chinese pilgrims. Fahien, who visited this region in the Fifth Century A.D., states: "This country is very productive and the people are flourishing and happy beyond Compare."[3] Another pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang who visited the area during Seventh Century A.D. remarked that "It was a fertile country with a hot climate; it yielded much upland rice and Sugarcane".[4]

In its general aspect the Farrukhabad district has a plain area, unbroken by any prominence. There are certain slopes gradual or abrupt leading down to the river valleys. The highest recorded elevation is 548 feet above the sea level at Muhammadabad.[5] The lowest level is 478 feet at Mau Rasulpur in the Trans-Gangetic flats of tahsil Farrukhabad.[6] The only marked variation of level is between the two divisions into which the district naturally falls—(*i*) The upland or Bangar, which is the continuation of the Doab plain, and the (*ii*) low land, or the Tarai, cut away from the upland by the erosive action of the rivers.

In its general aspect the Kanpur district is akin to the rest of the Doab. It contains alluvial plains with slopes gently from north-west to south-west, the gradient following the line of the principal rivers the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā.

Soil

The soil of the region is divided into three natural classes of Dumat or Loam, Matiyar or Clay and Bhur or Sand. Dumat is a

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fertile loam which is soft to touch when powdered. Bhur is sandy, rough to be touched. Matiyar is a stiff clay, which ordinarily grows rice in the rains. When dry, it splits into fissures and becomes as hard as baked bricks. But in the Tarai the soil is alluvial.

Agricultural Products

The autumn harvest (*Kharif*), spring harvest (*Rabi*) and the immediate harvest (*Zaid*) are produced in the region. The important crops of the Kharif are Cotton, Rice, Sugar-cane, Bajra and Arhar. Kanpur is the main Cotton producing centre of the State.[7] It is virtually called the 'Cottonopolis' of Uttar Pradesh. Cotton is grown in combination with *Arhar*. Sugar-cane is cultivated largely on the loam and the clay loam of the Gangetic and other alluviums. Different varieties of rice are grown in the area, viz.—(*i*) Thin-grained, (*ii*) Thick-grained, and (*iii*) Black-grained.

The principal products of Rabi are wheat and potatoes. Wheat is grown singly or in combination with barley or gram. Kanpur is one of the largest wheat producing areas of Uttar Pradesh.[8] Farrukhabad district is famous for producing Potatoes.[9]

Tobacco is an important product of the Zaid harvest. It is known as 'Māhun' from the month of Māgh, when it is cut. This harvest covers a large area in the Farrukhabad district.

Minerals

The mineral products of the districts are limited to those occurring throughout the Gangetic plain. There is no stone nor are there any metallic ores. Lime stone Conglomerate, known as Kankar, is found all over the upland.

Flora & Fauna

There is no forest in the area comprised within the two districts. Patches of Dhak jungle are seen all over the region. They are now reduced in size. The species found are siras, tamarind, various kinds of fig, the nim and the shisham. On the whole the area represents a well wooded appearance owing to the abundance of artificial groves of Mango and Mahuwā which fully make up for the comparative scarcity of jungle. The Chhatelpur copper plate inscription informs us that present Sheorajpur village of Bilhaur tahsil of Kanpur district (D) was full of Mango and Mahuwa gardens.[10]

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The wild animals found in the districts are scarce. The leopard is found in small numbers in the ravines of river Yamunā. Wolves are common. The wild pigs are plentiful in the ravines of the Yamunā and in the grassy plains of the Gaṅgā and Rāmgaṅgā. Blue-bull, chinkara, black-bull, hyaena, the hare, the percupine, the fox and the jackal are also found.

The birds of the region call for no detailed of special mention. The grey partridge is fairly common. The quail is a regular visitor. Florican and bustard are also seen. During the winter lakes of the area afford a resting place for innumerable water fowls, including geese, ducks, pochards, widgeon and teal of various varieties. Snipes are also known.

Climate

The climate of the region is dry and healthy. Hot and strong westerly winds blow during the summer season, occasionally interrupted by violent dust-storms. With the approach of the monsoon the wind veers to the east, till the rains actually break. The weather is most oppressive. The close of the rains in September and October is the most unhealthy period of the year. The cold weather commences at the end of October and the mercury falls gradually till it reaches its minimum in January. May and June are the hottest months and the temperature goes well over 90°. The temperature is occasionally cooled by the slight showers. In the Trans-Gangetic low lands the heat of summer is less parchingly dry than in uplands. During the rains the whole area is flooded, the villages rising out of the water like islands in a muddy sea.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang informs us that the climate of the area under study was genial.[11] He thus states about the people of Kanauj: "The inhabitants were well off and there were families with great wealth; fruits and flowers were abundant, and sowing and reaping had their seasons".[12]

Alberuni has referred to the tract and says that, "It lies between the hot and the cold countries".[13]

Rivers

The area has a number of rivers. The principal of these are—the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Rāmgaṅgā, the Kālīnadī, the Isan, the Pandu Nadī, the Rind, the Burigaṅgā, the Non and the Senger. Of these the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Rāmgaṅgā, the Kālinadī, the

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Isan, the Rind and the Senger are perennial. The rest are merely Channels for the scope of surplus drainage and cease their flow soon after the close of the monsoon.

The river Gaṅgā strikes the northern frontier of the Farrukhabad separating it from the district of Budaun and Shahjahanpur. Near the point where the three parganas of Kampil, Samsabad west and Amritpur meet, the river turns south-wards. It flows further along the north-eastern and eastern boundaries of the Kanpur district for its entire length striking the tahsils of Bilhaur and Kanpur. It has a wide and sandy bed, in which the stream rolls from side by side, changing its channel almost every year. In the rains the river is of immense breadth, but during winter it shrinks to comparatively small dimensions.

The river Yamunā is second important river. It is the biggest tributary of the river Gaṅgā. It first touches the extreme west of Bhognipur tahsil of Kanpur District (D). It maintains a south-easterly course as far as the southern extremity of the Ghatampur tahsil. In the interval it forms the boundary between Kanpur and the Bundelkhanda districts of Jalaun and Hamirpur.

The river Rāmgaṅgā is another important tributary of river Gaṅgā. It enters into Farrukhabad district from Shahjahanpur and flows through pargana Amritpur. It joins the river Gaṅgā opposite Ibrahimpur, below Kanauj.

The Kālīnadi rises in the Muzaffarnagar district. It first touches the village Sankissā Basantpur in the Farrukhabad district and joins the river Gaṅgā below Kanauj.

Isan and Non are the tributaries of the river Gaṅgā. Rind and Senger are the Chief tributaries of the river Yamunā.

The rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā are navigable throughout almost the entire year.

Transport & Communication

Transport of a region reflects the economic advancement, Social condition and the political set-up. The character of the landscape also plays a vital role in transportation. The deep alluvial stratum has helped in the development of railways and roads in this region. The railways and roads are the principal transport of the area under study. The railway system is operated by the northern, central and north-eastern railways. The first two are broad gauge and the third one is metre gauge. They cover most of the important places of

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the two districts.

The main line of the Northern Railway from Delhi to Mughal Sarai and onwards to Calcutta on the Eastern Railways passes through Kanpur. A branch line of the same system connects it with Lucknow. Kanpur is also connected with Jhansi and Banda by a branch line of the Central Railways. A branch line of the North-Eastern Railway previously called the Oudh-Tirhut Railways connects this area with Lucknow on one side and Agra Fort on the other. A branch line of Northern Railway connects Farrukhabad with Shikohabad.

Besides this the region has a net of roads. The well known Grand Trunk Road passes through this region linking it with Calcutta on one side and Peshawar on the other. The old Mughal road passes through Kanpur. The region is well connected by roads with Jhansi, Agra, Etawah, Etah, Varanasi, Bulandshahar, Meerut, Shahjahanpur, Budaun etc. Many metalled and unmetalled roads serve both urban and rural areas. Government roadways and privately-owned vehicles provide transport in the region.

Kanpur is now on the air map of India. The Indian Airlines commenced touching Kanpur on 1st February, 1963.

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2

Political History

Pre-History

The existence of man in the area under study may be traced back to the Early Stone Age. The inference may be drawn on the basis of the relics of early man who used neolithic tools. In the beginning man was parasitic on nature. To assist himself in the procurement of food which involved digging out roots and hunting animals, he prepared tools of stone. They were made of trap-rock and were ground and polished. They included axes, dozes, slink-stones, fabricators, polishers, hammer-stones, etc. The archaeological exploration of this area has brought to light a polished stone axe.[1] It has been obtained from Mūsānagar in the Bhognipur tahsil of Kanpur district (D).

The region has yielded copper implements. B.B. Lal opines that Proto-Australaid tribes of pre-Aryan occupation of the Gangetic basin used these tools.[2] According to Stuart Piggott these implements were of Harappan refugees.[3] Biṭhūr in the Kanpur district (N) has yielded forty copper implements.[4] They are of three categories: (*i*) flat celts twenty six, (*ii*) shouldered celts seven, and (*iii*) harpoons seven. The former has a square butt, slightly concave sides and a splayed out working edge. In the latter type the shoulder is formed where the blade joins the side. Three anthropomorphic figures in copper have been obtained from the village Sheorajpur of Bilhaur tahsil in Kanpur district (D).[5] They are of massive shape. One of them has a well-pronounced ridge around the head. Such

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figures were in existence as far as the late Harappan times.[6] The carbon-14 dating assigns to this phase a horizon in the nineteenth century B.C.[7] Some implements are also reported from Fatehgarh, district Farrukhabad.[8] Amongst them a copper antennae sword finds special mention.[9] These copper tools are akin, in several respects, to those found at Pariar (district Unnao), Bisauli (district Budaun), Sarthauli, Dhaka, Indilapur (district Shahjahanpur) and Majhadpur (district Hardoi). According to Allchin, 'the northern most of the east-ward thrusts of the post Harappan Chalcolithic settlements may be inferred to have derived both from Rajputana and the Punjab and to have spread into the Doab.'[10]

Photo-History

From the literary sources names of the dynasties and several of their rulers are known. The earliest known dynasty was that of the Pañchālas. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa they are mentioned as Krivis.[11] Pañchālas were composed of Five Vedic tribes viz. (*i*) the Krivis, (*ii*) the Turvaśas, (*iii*) the Keśins, (*iv*) the Śrñjayas and, (*v*) the Somakas.[12] In the Purāṇas the five constituents are given as follows: (*i*) Mudgala, (*ii*) Śrñjayas, (*iii*) Brahadiśu, (*iv*) Yavinara and, (*v*) Krmtāśva.[13]

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In the Purāṇas and the great Epics, there are numerous references to early rulers of the region. The Brāhmaṇic literature bears a testimony to the political supremacy and the military strength of the early rulers of the area. The first powerful King of this region was Sudāsa. He is credited to have won a decisive battle over the ten Kings.[14] The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa mentions Kraivya Pañchāla who performed an Aśvamedha (horse sacrifice).[15] We learn from the Aitareya Brāḥmaṇa that Durmukha was a powerful sovereign of this region.[16] He had made extensive conquests. He was a contemporary of Karaṇḍu, King of Kaliṅga, Naggaji, King of Gandhār and Nimi, King of Videha.[17] Sona was another ruler of considerable strength. He also performed a horse sacrifice.[18] The Bṛihdāraṇyaka and Chāndogya Upanishads mention Pravāhana Jaivali as a powerful philosopher King.[19] The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa tells us that the Pañchāla rulers marched forth on raids on appropriate seasons and usually returned in the hot season.[20] They performed Rājsūya and Aśvamedha sacrifices, as a mark of their political greatness.[21]

During the Bhārata War Drupada was the ruling monarch of

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this region. He gave the hand of his daughter Draupadī to the five Paṇḍava brothers.[22] He helped them with his son Dhrishtadyumna and is said to have given one akṣhauhiṇī army in the Bhārata War.[23] He was attacked by Karṇa, the King of Aṅga who after defeating him made him his feudatory.[24] According to the Mahābhārata Bhīmasena in course of his eastern expedition, invaded the Pañchāla country and brought this area under his sway.[25] The neighbouring rivalry between the Kurus and the Pañchālas developed into a war from time to time. Sometimes the Kurus gained supremacy over the Pañchālas and on other occasions, the Pañchālas won over the Kurus, without having effected a permanent conquest.[26]

The Mahāummagga Jātaka states that King Brahmadatta had established his supremacy all over the Jambudvīpa.[27] The Kumbhakāra Jātaka mentions Dummukha a powerful ruler.[28] In the Gaṇdatindu Jātaka we read that during the reign of Pañchāla King Kampilla, the people were so much oppressed by taxation that they took their wives and families and wandered in the forest like wild beasts. By day they were plundered by the King's men and in the night by robbers.[29]

Some of the names of the Pañchāla rulers are mentioned in the Jaina literature. The 'Vividhatīrthakalpa' mentions Harisheṇa as the tenth Chakravarti ruler of the region.[30] The Uttarādhyayana sūtra refers to a ruler of Kampilya named Śañjaya. He is said to have given up his Kingly power and adopted jainism.[31]

History during the Mahājanpad Period

Before the rise of Gautama, the Buddha, the region attained a position of the self-governing state. Its name figures prominently in the list of the sixteen Mahājanpadas.[32] During the life time of the Buddha it was annexed to the Kingdom of Vatsa.[33]

Udayana of Vatsa was the contemporary ruler of the Buddha. During his time the limits of the Vatsa Kingdom extended to the western and southern directions.

By about 500 B C. Magadha became the most important kingdom of the North. The Śaiśunāgas, followed by the Nandas, made extensive conquests and spread the region of their supremacy. The Nanda ruler Mahāpadma Nanda greatly extended the limits and the influence of Magadha Kingdom. The area under study must have formed the part of the wide dominions of the Nandas.

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The Mauryan emperor, Chandragupta defeated the last Nanda ruler Dhana Nanda with the help of Kautilya and established his domination over northern India. The Arthśāstra of Kautilya mentions Pañchāla as a monarchical kingdom.[34] Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusāra, who was followed by his illustrious son Aśoka. His inscriptions mention that after conquering the Kingdom of Kaliṅga his authority extended from Afghanistan and Kashmir to Mysore and from Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. In the fourteenth rock edict he states: 'my dominion is extensive'.[35] An elephant capital of his period has been found in the village Sankissā Basantpur, district Farrukhabad.

During the time of Aśoka Kauśāmbī was the headquarter of the provincial governor, who also looked after the area under study. The political situation of the area after Aśoka is not clear. According to the Rājatarańgiṇī Aśoka's son Jalauk pushed his conquest from Kashmir as far as Kanauj.[36] After Aśoka there was no strong central authority and consequently the empire crumbled into pieces. Several parts of the Mauryan empire declared their independence.

Śuṅgas and the Local Rulers

Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the Commander-in-chief of the last Mauryan ruler Brihadratha, assassinated his master, and succeeded in occupying a considerable portion of the Mauryan empire. He made Pātaliputra his capital. Prof. Bajpai believes that at the last days of Pushyamitra the capital was shifted from Pātaliputra to Kauśāmbī.[37] After the death of Pushyamitra, the Śuṅga empire was divided into several independent kingdoms with capitals at (*i*) Pātaliputra, (*ii*) Kauśāmbī, (*iii*) Vidiśā, (*iv*) Ayodhyā and, (*v*) Ahichchhattrā.[38]

During the Śuṅga rule the Greeks invaded Sāketa, Mathurā and Pañchāla.[39] The Gārgī Saṁhitā gives the details about the Greek invasion on Madhyadeśa. Dr. A.K. Narain has interpreted the relevant passage of the Gārgī Saṁhitā to mean that the Pañchālas and the Mathurās together with the Yavanas attacked Sāketa and marched on to possess Magadha.[40] When they reached the mud-fortification of Pātaliputra, the people became confounded and there was fear of disaster. According to Dr. Narain, the Pañchāla and other kings who attacked Pātaliputra destroyed the city. But the invaders quarrelled among themselves and as a result of the

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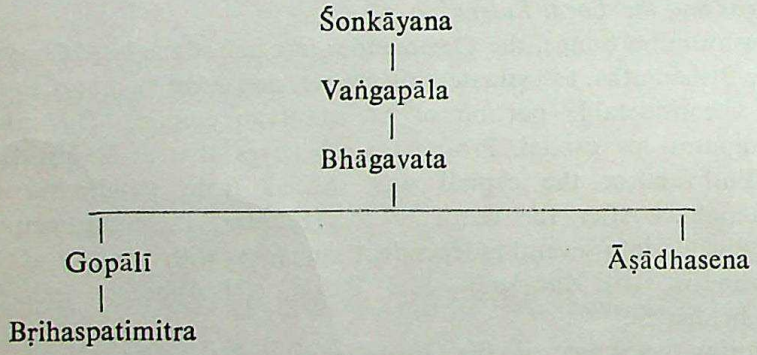
fierce fighting between them the Yavanas could not remain in Madhyadeśa any longer.[41] Dr. Narain thinks that the above incursion of the Yavanas took place about 150 B.C. when both Pañchāla and Mathurā were independent houses.[41a] According to other scholars the Greeks first invaded Pañchāla and Mathurā and afterwards they marched to Pātaliputra and that the rulers of Pañchāla and Mathurā did not side with the Yavanas in their attack on Magadha.

After the main dynasty of the Śuṅgas, the region was governed by the local rulers, whose names end in of Pāla, Ghosha, Sena, Mitra, Nandī, etc. The two inscriptions from Pabhosā (near Kauśāmbī) inform us that Vaṅgapāla was the ruler of Pañchāla.[42] His grandson Āṣādhasena was the maternal uncle of Bṛihaspatimitra, the ruler of Kauśāmbī. Prof. Bajpai opines that the king mentioned in the Pabhosā inscription is Bṛihaspatimitra II.[43] On the basis of the palaeography of these inscriptions, the time of this ruler can be placed in the middle of the second century B.C.[44] On the basis of these inscriptions, the following geneology can be framed:



Vaṅgapāla was overthrown by Dāmagupta.[45] His coins have been published.[46] The names of rulers with Gupta ending are: (*i*) Dāmagupta, (*ii*) Rudragupta and, (*iii*) Jayagupta.[47] Those with Ghosha ending names are: (*i*) Rudraghosha, and Bhadraghosha.[48] The Sena ending names are: (*i*) Vasusena, and (*ii*) Yogasena.[49] The rulers mentioned above flourished between C. 150 B.C. and 100 A.A.

A brick inscription in the Brāhmī script of a King named Devamitra has been found at Mūsānagar, district Kanpur (D).[50]

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He can be identified with the ruler of the same name of Kauśāmbī known from coins.[51] The find of the inscription shows that Mūsānagar area was included in Kauśāmbī territory.

The coins bearing the Mitra and the Nandī names, have been found from Kauśāmbī and the region around. The kings ruled over this area governed from the middle of the 2nd century B.C. to about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. So far coins of twelve Mitra rulers of Pañchāla have been published.[52] They are: (*i*) Sūryamitra, (*ii*) Phālgunimitra, (*iii*) Bhānumitra, (*iv*) Bhūmimitra, (*v*) Dhruvamitra, (*vi*) Agnimitra, (*vii*) Vishṇumitra, (*viii*) Jayamitra, (*ix*) Indramitra, (*x*) Prajāpatimitra, (*xi*) Varuṇamitra, (*xii*) Anamitra.

Recently a sealing has been found from Sankissā-Basantpur, which bears the name of Indramitra.[53] The Nandī rulers are: (*i*) Śiva Nandī, and (*ii*) Śrī Nandī.[54] Prof. Bajpai believes that Śrī Nandī was the ruler of South Pañchāla.[55] At Kauśāmbī also a number of rulers with Mitra ending names have been found. The palaeography on the coins indicates that some of these Mitra rulers of Kauśāmbī were contemporary of the Mitra Kings of Pañchāla.

A lithic record of the thirteenth year of a King named Vīrasena has been found in the village Jankhaṭ of tahsil Kanauj, district Farrukhabad.[56] He was a ruler of Mathurā in about 3rd Century A.D.[57] The coins of this ruler have been found in and around Mathurā and Kanauj in large numbers.[58] The obverse of his coins bears the name of the King in the early Brāhmī character in hallow incuse at top, below there is a palm tree and ornaments. On the reverse we find a crude human figure, some times a standing female figure with royal crown.[59]

The Śakas of Mathurā

After the decline of the Śuṅga power in north India, the Scythians (Śakas) established their rule in Mathurā. The names of the early rulers of this house were Hagāna and Hagāmaś. Their coins have been found in and around Mathurā. One coin of Hagamaś was found at Sankissā Basantpur.[60] This find reveals the fact that this region was probably included in the territory of the Śakas. After these two rulers, Śaka Rājuvula became the monarch of this area. His coins have been obtained from this area.[61] In the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscription he is called 'Mahākshatrapa'.[62] On coins

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he bears the title of 'Rājrāj'.[63] He was followed by his son Ṣoḍāsa, who acted as 'Kshatrapa' during the life time of his father and after his death became Mahākshatrapa. His coins have been reported from Sankissā Basantpur and Lālā Bhagat.[64] In the Amohini Votive Tablet Inscription, he is called Mahāshatrapa.[65] He issued a large number of his coins similar to the coins of the Mitra rulers of Mathurā with the figure of Lakṣhmī and Brāhmī legend on them.[66]

The Kushāṇas

From about the middle of the Ist century A.D. to about the end of the 2nd century A.D. the Kushāṇas established themselves at Mathurā. The first ruler of this dynasty was Kujulakadphises. He considerably enhanced the power and prestige of his house. Kadphises was succeeded by Wima Kadphises, also known as Kadphises II. The coins of this ruler have been found in large numbers in this area.[67] He was succeeded by Kanishka I. He was a great patron of Buddhism and combined in himself the military ability of Chandragupta Maurya and the religious zeal of Aśoka. He completed the conquest of Upper India and ruled over a wide realm which extended from Kāpisa, Grandhāra and Kashmir to Banares.[68] Kanishka's coins have been reported from the region particularly from Sankissā Basantpur and Pakhnā Bihār in Farrukhabad district.[69] Other rulers of the imperial house were Huviśka and Vāsudeva I. Their coins found in Sankissā Basantpur and Pakhnā Bihār testify to their rule in the area under study.[70] The art-relics found in Sankissā Basantpur, Kanauj, Jankhaṭ, Lālā Bhagat and Mūsānagar testify to the cultural progress of the region during the Kushāṇa period.

Recently a Kharosthi inscription has been found at Kamra, 10 kms. east of Campbellpur of the Punjab (Pakistan).[71] This important record throws fresh light on the history of the Kushāṇas. It belongs to the twentieth year of the reign of Vāsishkha. This rular has been mentioned as a Scion of the branch of 'Mahārāja' Kujul Kadphises. On the basis of this new record, Dr. B.N. Mukherjee has rightly drawn the conclusion that Vāsishka, a member of the Kanishka group belonged to the family of Kujul Kadphises.[72] Thus the Kamra inscription has for the first time conclusively proved that Kadphises I and Kanishka I belonged to the same imperial branch of the Kushāṇas.

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Gupta Dynasty

With the advent of the Gupta dynasty in C. 319 A.D., a new epoeh began in the political history of north India. The first historical personality of this dynasty was Śrīgupta. He was succeeded by Ghaṭotkachagupta. Both these rulers enjoyed the simple title of 'Mahārāja'. It was Chandragupta (319-335 A.D.), who first adorned himself with the epithet of 'Mahārājādhirāja'. He married the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī. This marriage proved a turning point in the fortunes of the Guptas. Vincent Smith is of opinion that in consequence of this union Chandragupta 'succeeded to the power previously held by his wife's relatives'.[73]

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Samudragupta (335-375 A.D.). With his advent, Magadha regained its political supremacy in north India after the death of Aśoka. Samudragupta led a series of military expeditions to conquer the rulers of Āryāvarta and Dakshiṇāpatha. The Allahabad inscription mentions that in course of his Āryavarta military expeditions he subdued the Panchāla ruler Achyuta.[74] The coins of this ruler have been found in large numbers in and around Ramanagar (Bareilly district). This conquest brought back this area once again under the political domination of Magadha.

Samudragupta was succeeded by his eldest son Rāmagupta. During his period western Śaka Kshatrapas became active in central India. One of their rulers defeated Rāmagupta[75] and demanded his beautiful wife Dhruvadevī. His younger brother Chandragupta II murdered the Śaka ruler and cleared off the Śaka domination from eastern Mālwā.

Rāmagupta was killed or died soon after. He was succeeded by Chandragupta II (380-413 A.D.), who assumed the title of Vikramāditya. A stone inscription of Gupta Yr. 61 (380 A.D.) of the time of this monarch has been discovered at Mathurā. During his rule quite a large number of monuments and sculptures of great artistic beauty were made.

After Chandragupta II, the next emperor of the Gupta dynasty was his son Kumargupta I (413-455 A.D.). One of his inscriptions has been found at Bilsad in Etah district of Uttar Pradesh.

Kumargupta I was succeeded by his son and successor Skandagupta (455-467 A.D.). After the death of Skandagupta in C. 467 A.D., the Gupta power began to decline on account of the frequent attacks of the Hūṇas. Gupta feudatories took advantage of this

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state of affairs and declared their independence. After Skandagupta, Purugupta (467-473 A.D.) ruled for some time. He was succeeded by Kumargupta II (473-477 A.D.).[75a]

Kumargupta II was succeeded by Budhagupta (477-495 A.D.). His dominions included the major parts of central India, Kāśī and north Bengal. The Damodar copper plate inscription mentions that Puṇḍrāvardhana *bhukti* (north Bengal) was included in his empire.[76] It was governed by his Viceroys, Brahmadatta and Jayadatta.[77] Budhagupta exercised his sway also over Kāśī region.[78] Budhagupta's feudatory Suraśmichandra was ruling over the land between the rivers Yamunā and Narmadā. The local governor at Eraṇ (district Sagar) was Mātrivishṇu.[79]

Budhagupta was followed by Bhānugupta (495-510 A.D.). He was the last ruler of the imperial Gupta dynasty. He made the final efforts to free the eastern Mālwā region from the Hūṇas. The Eraṇ pillar inscription bearing the Gupta era 191 (510 A.D.) records that Bhānugupta came to Eraṇ with his Chief Goparāja to fight against the Hūṇas. Goparāja fought bravely against the Hūṇas, but died in the battle field. His devoted wife burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband.[80] During the Gupta rule Ahichchhattrā enjoyed the status of a *Bhukti*.[81]

The Maukhris of Kanauj

The later half of the fifth century A.D. was a period of great ferment in the history of this region. The area witnessed the beginning of that process which ultimately undermined the stability of the Gupta dynasty. The Maukaris grew richer and prosperous by the possession of the fertile Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley.

'Maukhari' is a name of an ancient family. Their clay seals belonging to the Mauryan period have been found in Gayā. The inscriptions engraved on stone-yūpas show that there were several Maukari families in that region during the third century A.D.[82] The Harha stone inscription connects them with the solar race and calls them 'Mukhara'.[83] Bāṇa refers to them as 'Maukari'.[84]

The Maukhari rulers have issued some silver coins. A hoard of these coins was discovered at Bhiṭaurā in the Faizabad district of Uttar Pradesh. It contains 9 coins of Īśānavarman, 6 of Śarvavaman and 17 of Avantivarman.[85]

Harivarman was the founder of the house of Kanauj.[86] He, along with Ādityavarman and Īśvaravarman, ruled as vassals under the

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Guptas and bore the title of 'Mahārājā'. The Harha inscription assigns him the proud epithet 'Jwālāmukha'.[87] He performed the brahmanical sacrifices in an eloquent manner.[88] Dr. R.S. Tripathi believes that Īśvaravarman brought his family into prominance.[89] During his period the rulers of Dhāra and Andhrā invaded Kanauj.[90]

Isvaravarman was succeeded by his son, Īśānavarman. He was first in the house to assume the imperial title of 'Mahārājādhirāja'. He averted the falling fortunes of his family by waging successful wars against the neighbouring powers.[91] He defeated the rulers of Andhrās, Śūlikas and Gaṇḍas.[92] The Jaunpur inscription informs us that after defeating the Andhrās, he extended his conquests as far as Raivataka (Kathiawara).[93]

The Guptas could not tolerate his pretensions to supremacy. This open rupture between the two houses is one of the chief events of his reign. He was defeated by Kumargupta III.[94] The son of Iśanāvarman, Sarvavarman, revenged the defeat of his father by inflicting a crushing defeat on Dāmodargupta and annexed the western portion of Magadha.[95]

Sarvavarman was succeeded by Avantivarman. After him Grahavarman ascended the throne. He married princess Rājyaśrī, daughter of Prabhākara Vardhana of Thāneśvara. This union of two houses was largely instrumental in shaping the course of north Indian history. During his period Devagupta of Mālwā invaded Kanauj with the support of Gauḍa King, Śaśānka. The Maukhari ruler died in this conflict and the capital was seized. The queen Rājyaśrī was thrown into a dungeon "like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet."[96] His elder brother Rājyavardhana punished the Gupta ruler for his cruel deeds. But he was murdered by Śaśānka. Grahvarman was the last Maukhari ruler of Kanauj. The history of the area under study after his death is inseparably connected with that of Harsha of Thāneśvara. The Maukharis ruled over Kanauj upto C. 606 A.D.

Harshavardhana

The prosperity and importance of this region which began during the Maukhari rule grew tremendously under Harshavardhana. Kanauj became the premier city of north India supplanting Pātliputra. The ancestors of Harsha ruled as vassals from Śrīkaṇṭha. Prabhākara Vardhana was first in the house to assume the

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imperial title of 'Mahārājādhirāja'. After him Rājyavardhana ascended the throne of Thāneśvara. He was murdered by false civilities on the part of Gauḍa King, Śaśānka. After the death of Rājyavardhana, his younger brother Harshavardhana ascended the throne. He began to devise measures to retrieve the disaster that had overtaken the Vardhanas of Thāneśvara and the Maukharis of Kanauj. He launched a military expedition against Śaśāṅka the persecutor of Buddhism and the person responsible for the death of his brother. He utilized six years of his early reign in wars and fought with the 'Five Indians'.[97] He rescued his widowed sister from the forest home in the Vindhyas.

Harshavardhana issued some silver coins of the Madhyadeśa type of the Gupta silver coinage. A hoard of these coins was discovered at Bhiṭaurā in the Faizabad district of Uttar Pradesh.[98] The hoard contained 9 coins of Śrī Pratāpśīla, 284 of Śri Śīlāditya. The coins bearing the name 'Pratāpśīla' have been attributed to King Prabhākara Vardhana, the father of Harsha.[99] The majority of the coins bearing the name Śrī Śīlāditya have been attributed to Harshavardhana.[100] On one of the coins the name Śrī Harṣa has been read.[101] The silver coins of Harsha are the imitations of the Gupta silver coins, bearing a dancing peacock on one side and a long border legend on the other.

Prof. Bajpai has recently published a unique gold coin of Harsha.[102] This coin is the first gold coin of Harsha known so far. It bears his title 'Parambhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parmeśvara Śrī Mahārāja'. The figures of Śiva and Pārvatī seated on Nandi on this coin is significant. These figures are like that of the portraits of the deities on the Gupta gold coins.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang visited this region during the reign of Harsha. The Chinese pilgrim calls the King of 'Ka-no-Ku-She' (Kānyakubja) as 'Śīlāditya'.[103] The pilgrim states that after enlarging the territories, Harsha increased his army having the elephant corps upto 60,000 and the cavalry to 1,00,000.[104] The Madhuban copper plate inscription informs us that Kapithikā, identified with Sankissā Basantpur was made the place for the military camp by Harsha.[105]

Harsha declared himself the sovereign ruler, restoring the political unity of north India.[106] The Chālukya records apply to him the proud epithet 'Sakalottarāpathanāth'.[107] He tried his sword to establish his suzerainty over south India.[108] R.K. Mookerji opines

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that Chālukya ruler Pulakeśin II guarded the passes on the Narmadā river so strongly that Harsha had to retire and accepted the river as his frontier.[109] The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II refers to the defeat of Harsha by the Chālukyan monarch.

The most striking feature of the reign of Harsha was his religious assembly at Kanauj. It was attended by Bhāskaravarman of Assam with his immense hosts, and twenty other kings.[110] Harsha sent a brahmin envoy in the court of Chinese ruler Tai-Tsung (641 A.D.) who returned (645 A.D.) accompanied by a Chinese mission.[111] Harsha started an era of his own. It was prevalent in Kanauj and Mathurā when Alberuni visited this region in C. 1030 A.D.[112] Harsha is said to have brought a tooth-relic of Buddha from Kashmir and enshrined it in Kanauj.[113]

Yaśovarman of Kanauj

After the death of Harsha the earliest ruler of Kanauj whose name has been recorded in literature and inscriptions is Yaśovarman. His court poet Vākpati in his Prākrit work 'Gauḍavāho' calls him "an ornament to the lunar race of kings."[114] He has been represented as an illustrious ruler of Kānyakubja.[115] The Prākrit Kāvya mentions that Yaśovarman had defeated the ruler of Magadha.[116] Dr. B.P. Sinha believes that his contemporary Gupta ruler received a great setback from this attack and lost his hold over Magadha.[117]

Later on Yaśovarman was defeated by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir.[118] A large number of coins issued by Lalitāditya have been found in Kanauj, Banda, Faizabad, Rājghāt, Sarnāth, Nalandā and Monghyr.[119] This fact lends support to the point that the kingdom of Kanauj passed under the domination of Lalitāditya of Kārkoṭa dynasty, whose coins became current in this region. Kalhaṇa mentions that he granted the land of Kānyakubja with its villages to the shrine of Āditya in the town of Lātpur.[120]

The Āyudha Dynasty

Soon after Yaśovarman, Kanauj passed into the hands of the Āyudhas rulers. Three kings of this dynasty namely Vajrāyudha, Indrāyudha and Chakrāyudha ruled in the later half of the eighth century A.D. Vajrāyudha and Indrāyudha were weak rulers. During their rule, a triangular struggle for supremacy took place amongst the Kārkoṭas of Kashmir, the Pālas of Bengal, and the Rāṣṭrakūtas of south India. We learn from Kalhaṇa that Jayāpīda Vinyāditya

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(779-810 A.D.) invaded Kanauj and carried off the throne as an ensign of the royal power.[121] The Rāṣṭrakūta ruler Dhruva (779-794 A.D.) invaded the Doab region and added the emblem of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā to his imperial insignia.[122] The Bhagalpur copper plate inscription mentions that Dharampāla defeated Indrāyudha and placed Chakrāyudha in his position under his guardianship.[123] This installation ceremony was conducted in the presence of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kīra rulers.[124]

The Rāṣṭrakūtas could not tolerate the domination of the Pālas over the fertile plains of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley. Govind III (794-814 A.D.) invaded Kanauj and compelled to surrender Chakrāyudha and his guardian.[125]

The Gurjara-Pratīhāras

During the beginning of the ninth century A.D., the Gurjara-Pratīhāra of Rajasthan and the Pālas of Bengal took advantage of the misrule and anarchy in the Doab region. They measured their swords to establish domination. An inscription of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Mihira Bhoja has been found in the village Bārā of Akbarpur tahsil in Kanpur district (D). The Gwalior inscription of the same ruler mentions that the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Nāgabhatta II availed the opportunity and came out successful by defeating Chakrāyudha.[126] This conquest made the Gurjara-Pratīhāras the supreme power in the north. Gwalior and Kalañjara were included in their dominions.[127]

Nāgabhatta was succeeded by his son Rāmbhadra (833-836 A.D.). After him Mihira Bhoja (836-885 A.D.) ascended the throne. He made his house, the dominant power in north India. His coins bearing the epithet 'Śrīmad Ādivarāha' have been found at Sankissā, Kanauj and other sites.[128] The Arab merchant Sulaiman has testified to the ability of his rule in the following words: "The King maintains numerous forces and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he. He has got riches and his camels and horses are numerous."[129] He was called 'Baura'.[130] According to Hodiwala this title was common to all the Kings of Kanauj.[131]

After Mihira Bhoja Mahendrapāla (885-910 A.D.) led successful expeditions in Magadha and Bengal.[132] He was succeeded by

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Mahiapāla (812-844 A.D.). In the beginning he was menanced by the Rāśṭrakūta attack. Indra III Rāśṭrakūta attacked Kanauj and devastated the city.[133] In the closing year of his reign Krishna III Rāśṭrakūta led expedition in north India. This attack was so panic-stricken that Mahipāla lost hopes to defend his two strong holds viz. (*i*) Kaliñjara, and (*ii*) Chitrakūṭa.[134] Rājaśekhara attributes to him the victories over the Muralas, the Mekhalas, the Kaliñgas, the Keralas, the Kulutās and the Ramaṭhas.[135]

The Arab cronicler Al-Masūdī informs us that the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler maintained four armies, each of them numbering 7,00,000 or 90,00,000 men whom he used to put in the north and south garrisons.[136] The army in the north used to fight against the Muhammadans and on the south against the Rāśṭrakūtas. The rest two armies used to march to conquer the four directions.[137] The Kingdom of Kanauj became the leading state in north India whose limits were extended upto Sindh. Its ruler kept other Kingdoms in owe and subjection.[138]

After Mahipāla Mahendrapāla II, Devapāla and Vijayapāla ascended the throne one after the other. They proved to be weak rulers. Taking advantage of the situation the Solankis of Gujarāt and Sauraśtra, Parmāras of Mālwā, Guhilas of Mewāra and Chāhamānas of Śākambarī declared their independence. The Chandella King Dhaṅga (950-1000 A.D.) inflicted a crushing blow on the Pratīhāras by capturing Gwalior.[139] The Khajuraho inscription further confirms the success of the Chandellas over Pratīhāras.[140] The Chedi King Lokṣamaṇarājadeva measured his sword and put to shame the Pratīhāra ruler.[141] The Chalukyas also enhanced their prestige by defeating Rājyapāla.[142]

Rājyapāla helped the Śāhī ruler Ānandapāla with a big contingent against the Muhammadan attack of Subuktaigin.[143] For this he had to bear the brunt of Mahmūd's attack (20th December 1018 A.D).[144] The Pratīhāra ruler became panic-stricken and fled across the river Gaṅgā to Bārī. The Sultan plundered the glorious city "which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled."[145] When Alberuni visited the city in C. 1030 A.D., he found it in ruins.[146] Mahmūd returned to Ghazni laden with immense wealth.

The cowardly submission enraged the native chiefs. They formed a confederation under the Chandella ruler Gaṇḍa, to punish Rājyapāla.[147] The command was entrusted to the Chandella crown-prince Vidyādhara.[148] He defeated Rājyapāla and installed his son

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Trilochanpāla on the throne of Kanauj.[149]

This news shocked Mahmūd and he made an advance for the second time (1019 A.D.) against the Pratīhāra King. Trilochanpāla offered resistance but Bārī fell an early prey to the invader. Thus, the long tottering Pratīhāra power received a final blow from the arms of Mahmūd of Ghazni.

The inscription from Jhusi (Allahabad) mentions that Trilochanapāla exercised a loose authority over the surrounding region.[150] The Kāra inscription mentions the name of Yasapāla who ascended the throne after Trilochanapāla.[151] These grants assign the imperial title 'Mahārājādhirāja' to both these rulers.

The Rāṣṭrakūtas:

In the beginning of the eleventh century A D. a line of the Rāṣṭrakūtas family ruled over Kanauj. An inscription found at Budaun mentions that Rāṣṭrakūtas were ruling over the Pañchāla country.[152] The first ruler of this family was Chandra. He established his supremacy over the region under study, during the period of disaster that followed the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghazni.[153] The Saheth-Maheth inscription (1118 A.D.) mentions Gopāla as a ruler of Kanauj.[154] During this period Chālukya ruler Someśvara I of Deccan and the Chola ruler, Vīrarājendra of the south India invaded Kanauj.[155]

The Gāhadvālas:

In the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. Kanauj suffered much from the capacity of a succession of invaders. The Muslim invasions became a permanent feature of the political situation in the north. In the summer of C. 1033 A.D., the Governor of Punjab, Ahmad Nialtigin led an expedition against Banares for looting the accumulated riches of its temples.[156] He overrun the intervening territories and returned to Lahore by way of 'Indardar-bandi',[157] which, according to Kalhaṇa, was the land between the river Gaṅgā and the Yamunā with Kanauj as its chief city.[158] The Chedi ruler Gāṅgayadeva (1019-1041 A.D.) led an expedition against Kanauj.[159] His coins have been found at Kanauj.[160] His son Karṇa (1041-1072 A.D.) attacked Antervedī.[161] Bhoja Parmāra (1000-50 A.D.) and Chālukya Someśvara I (1042-1068 A.D.) took advantage of the political situation of the north and measured their swords in the Doab region.

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Under the political upheavals Gāhadavāla ruler Chandradeva conquered Kanauj (1085 A.D.). He made it the permanent seat of administration for his family.[162] The founder of this family was Yaśovigraha of the Solar race.[163] An inscription of the Gāhadavāla dynasty has been reported from the village Chhatarpur of Bilhaur tahsil, district Kanpur(D). Yaśovigraha and his son Mahichandra were feudatory chiefs. It was Chandradeva who was first styled in the family as 'Mahārājādhirāja'.[164] He inaugurated an era of peace and stable government in Kanauj. The family inscriptions contain his proud claim as the protector of the holy places of Kāśi, Kuśika, Uttar Kosala and Indraprastha.[165] Vijayendra Mathur has identified Kuśika with Kānyakubja (modern Kanauj).[166] He is said to have made his power felt by Narapati, Gajapati, Triśankupati and Giripati.[167]

Chandradeva was succeeded by his son Madanapāla. He has been described as "a crest-jewel among kings".[168] According to the Muslim chroniclers, Ala-ud-Daulah Masūda III (1099-1115 A.D.) sent Hājib Tughatigin to invade Madhyadeśa. The King of Kanauj suffered serious reverses and purchased peace by paying a large sum of money.[169]

Madanapāla was succeeded by his son Govindachandra. He defeated the invading bands of Muslims and compelled Hammir to 'lay aside his enmity.'[170] He used to collect 'Turuṣkadaṇḍa' from his subjects.[171] It was a tax collected by the Gāhadavāla Kings from their Muhammadan subjects or for defending their kingdom from Muhammadan attacks.[172] The Gagahā inscription (Gorakhpur, U.P.) states that Govindachandra captured the 'Nine Kings'.[173] He made some encroachments in Magadha, taking advantage of the decadent state of the Pālas of Bengal.[174]

Govindachandra was succeeded by his son Vijayachandra (1155-70 A.D.). He powerfully defended his territories. The Prithvīrāja-Rāso credits him with victories against the Somavaṁśī King Makundadeva of Kaṭaka, Aṅgapāla of Delhi, Bholābhīma of Paṭṭanapur.[175] According to Hemachandra the Solaṅkī ruler of Gujarat Kumārpāla (1144-72 A.D.) devastated Kanauj and terrified its ruler in course of his expedition.[176]

Vijayachandra was followed by his son Jayachandra (1070-94 A.D.). He was the last great ruler of the Gāhadavāla dynasty. He bore the epithet 'Pangu or Dal Pangula' from the circumstance that he maintained a stupendous force.[177] According to the work

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Sūraja Prakāśa, his army consisted of 80,000 men in armour, 30,000 horses covered with Pakhar, 3,00,000 Paiks, 2,00,000 bowmen and battle axes, besides a host of fighting elephants.[178] According to the Chauhan chroniclers, he "overcame the kings of north, making eight tributary kings prisoner, twice defeated Siddharāja, the King of Anhilwad, and extended his dominions south of the Narmadā river.[179] Ibna Asīr states: "the King of Banares was the greatest king of India and possessed the largest territories, extending length wise from the borders of China to the province of Mālwā and in breadth from the sea to within ten days journey to Lahore."[180] After the conclusion of his conquests he celebrated a Rājasūyayajña as a mark of his supremacy. This culminated in the Svayamvara of his daughter Saṁyogitā.[181]

In 1192 A.D. Sihābuddin Muhammad Ghori attacked India. The Rajput chiefs formed a confederation under the Chauhan ruler Prithvīrāja III to check the Muslim advance. Jayachandra kept himself in proud isolation, thinking that the defeat of Prithvīrāja, his rival for supremacy in the north, would clear his way. But after defeating the confederacy, Muhammad Ghori marched against Kanauj. The two forces met at Chandawar (district Etawah). In the contest Jayachandra sustained a signal defeat at the hands of the Muslims.[182] He received a deadly wound from an arrow discharged by Qutbuddin and met his death.[183] Muhammad Ghori marched forth to Asni (district Fatehpur) where the Gāhadavālas had deposited their treasure. The precious spoils of all kinds, fell into his hands.[184] He bestowed the government of the conquered territories upon Qutbuddin.[185]

Jayachandra was followed by his son Hariśchandra (1197 A.D.) and enjoyed the full sovereign title of Mahārājadhirāja.[186] He was allowed to reign in a portion of his ancestral dominions after he had acknowledged himself a tributary of the newly established Muslim power at Delhi.[187]

The area under study was finally conquered by Altutmish (1226 A.D.) and its land revenue went to the Muslim Court at Delhi.[188] The Tabaqāt-i-Nāsri mentions that in 1226 A.D. the region of Oudh was placed in charge of Malik Nāsir-uddin Mahmūd. He overcame the 'refractory infidels' and brought a 'considerable number under obedience'.[189] This evidence shows that by this time Muhammadans had become the absolute masters of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley

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and their Governors were ruling over the different provinces of the kingdom.

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3

Rivers

The rivers contribute a lot to the physical and economic development of a region or a town. In India, from the Proto-Historic times, towns were located on the banks of the rivers. In so far the area under study is concerned the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Kālīnadī and the Rāmgaṅgā have been responsible for the development of material life in various ways. The details about the rivers are given in the following pages.

Gaṅgā

The river Gaṅgā finds mention in the Ṛigveda[1] and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[2] In the Taitirīya Āraṇyaka special honour is assigned to those who dwell between the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[3] The victory on the Gangetic plains represents the furthest extent of the Kuru rule.[4]

The river is eulogised in the Rāmāyaṇa.[5] It was visited by Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa.[6] Sītā along with Lakṣamaṇa, had crossed the river Gaṅgā during the course of her second exile.[7] Later on Śatrughana had crossed it at Biṭhūr when he was on his way to Mathurā to crush Lavaṇāsura[8]. In the Bhiṣma and the Vana parva of the Mahābhārata, the significance of the river Gaṅgā has been described in detail.[9] The river was forming the boundary between the north and the south Paṅchāla territory.[10] Aśvattīrtha was situated on its bank.[11]

The river has been frequently referred to in the Purāṇas. In the Bhāgvata Purāṇa it is called Alakanandā,[12] Dyudhunī[13] and Dyu-

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nadī.[14] According to the Vāyu,[15] the Kūrma[16] and the Viṣṇu[17] Purāṇas Alakanandā is one of the streams of the Gaṅgā and reaches the sea with seven mouths. In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, the Gaṅgā is said to have issued from the foot of Nārāyana.[18] The Vāyu Purāṇa narrates that river was detained amidst the tresses of Lord Śiva, in order to punish her for her arrogance, until the divinity was moved by the penance and prayer of King Bhagīratha to set her free.[19] The Harivaṁśa Purāṇa mentions that King Puraravā lived with Urvaśī for five years on the bank of the river Mandākinī which is another name of the river Gaṅgā.[20] It is also called Tripathagāminī.[21] The Skanda Purāṇa tells us that Bharata performed fifty six horse sacrifices in the Gaṅgā basin.[22] In the Matsya Purāṇa it is mentioned as one of the sacred rivers.[23] The river Gaṅgā watered the Janapadas of Kurus, Pañchālas, Kauśikas, Matsyas and Magadhas.[24] The Skanda Purāṇa mentions the river Gaṅgā with various names viz. Bhāgīrathī,[25] Jānhvī,[26] Svara-Gaṅgā,[27] Ākāśa-Gaṅgā,[28] Pātāl-Gaṅgā,[29] and Sursaritā.[30] The holy places like: Gangādvāra,[31] Kānyakubja,[32] Aśvatīrtha,[33] Brahmāvarta,[34] Prayāga,[35] and Kaśi[36] were situated along its banks. The Brahma Purāṇa calls the river Gaṅgā as Gautamīgaṅgā and Bhāgīrathīgaṅgā.[37] The Padma Purāṇa mentions the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Sindhu as the holy spot.[38] The river is also mentioned in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.[39]

The river Gaṅgā finds mention in the Buddhist literature. In the Saṁyukta Nikāya Gaṅgā is mentioned as one of the five big rivers.[40] According to the Sārathappakāsinī, the length of the Gaṅgā was 500 yojanas.[41] Buddhaghośa has called Prayāga a landing ghata of the river Gaṅgā.[42] The Jātakas have applied the epithets like Adhogaṅgā,[43] Udhagaṅgā,[44] and Paragaṅgā[45] for the river Gaṅgā. According to the Jaina literature, it is counted among the five great rivers.[46]

Gaṅgā is referred to in the Milindapañha,[47] the Mahābhāṣya,[48] the Raghuvaṁśa,[49] the Kādambarī,[50] the Bṛihata Saṁhitā[51] and the Kāvyamīmaṁsā.[52] According to Bāṇa, the river while being brought by Bhagīratha happened to wash off the altar of Jahnu who was performing a horse sacrifice. The Chinese pilgrim Fahien crossed the river Gaṅgā at Kanauj.[53]

The Greeks possessed a considerable knowledge of the river Gaṅgā. According to Megasthenes the river had nineteen tributaries.[54] He further states that the river Gaṅgā at its source was thirty stadia broad, flowing from the north to the south and emptying

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its waters into the ocean forming the boundary of the Gangaridai.[55] According to Arrian the river Gaṅgā had a breadth of one hundred stadia, where narrow, while in many places it spread out into lakes so that when the country happened to be flat and destitute of elevation, the opposite shores could not be seen from either side.[56]

The inscriptions give a vivid description of the source and the water of the river Gaṅgā. The water of the Gaṅgā has been mentioned as flowing through the matted hair of God Śiva.[57] The pure water of the Bhāgīgrathī has been described as purifying the Bhāraśivas.[58] The heavenly descent of the river Gaṅgā has been described.[59] In the Govindpur copper plate inscription of Lokṣmaṇasena, the river has been called Jāhanvī.[60] The Gāhadavāla rulers after bathing in the holy water of the river Gaṅgā at Varanasi used to sanction grants.[61]

The changes in the drainage of the river Gaṅgā have been taken place in the area under study. A conspicuous change has been observed in the drainage of the river at Kanauj. During the time of Fahien's visit in the 5th century A.D., Kanauj was situated 'on the bank of the river Gaṅgā.'[62] When Hiuen-Tsang visited this town in the 7th century A.D., the river Gaṅgā was forming the western border of Kanauj.[63] Now the river has shifted westwards to a distance of about six Kms. from the town. The present town of Kanauj is situated on the Kālīnadī. The confluence of the river Gaṅgā and the Kālīnadī is oscillating between Rajgir and below it. The second change occurs at Kampil in tahsil Kaimganj of district Farrukhabad. The Jaina work 'Vividhatirthakalpa' mentions that Kampil was situated on the bank of the river Gaṅgā.[64] Now the river has shifted its drainage to a distance of about three Kms. from the town of Kampil. The old channel is still visible. The drainage of the old bed is locally known as Burhia or Būrhīgaṅgā. The third change has been noticed at Bhojpur in tahsil Farrukhabad. We learn from Pehova (Karnāl district, Haryana) inscription that the town of Bhojpur was situated on the bank of the river Gaṅgā.[65] The river has shifted its drainage. It is flowing at a distance of about two Kms. from the present settlement.

The river Gaṅgā rises from the snow bound Himalaya. Its length is 2,071 Kms.[66] The river drains an area of 9,51,600 Kms.[67] The catchment area from Himalaya to Allahabad is 97,902 Kms.[68] Its two head-streams Alakanandā and Bhāgīrathī meet at Devaprayāga. After their confluence, the river is known as Gaṅgā. From Devaprāyaga the river flows west and south-west through the Himalayas

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upto Hardwar. Then it enters the plains and proceeds south and south-west till it receives the Rāmagaṅgā on her left below Kanauj. It flows then in a southerly direction upto Allahabad where the river Yamunā joins it. From Allahabad it flows eastwards. The main historical sites of the area under study on or nearby the river Gaṅgā are: (*i*) Biṭhūr, (*ii*) Chhatarpur, (*iii*) Fatehgarh, (*iv*) Farrukhabad, (*v*) Jājmau, (*vi*) Jeora-Kheora, (*vii*) Kampil, (*viii*) Rajgir, and (*ix*) Rādhana.

Isan

The river Isan has its origin in the south-east of Aligarh. It is a river of considerable magnitude. Flowing through Etah and Mainpuri districts, it enters district Farrukhabad. In Kanpur district it enters tahsil Bilhaur (D) at a short distance from Makanpur. The river maintains a south-easterly direction and joins the river Gaṅgā at Mahgawan near Bilhaur.

Kālīnadī

The Kālīnadī first finds mention in the Rāmāyana. It has been called Ikṣumatī.[69] Nando Lal Dey has identified Ikṣumatī with the Kālīnadī which flows through Kumaun, Rohilkhand and the district of Farrukhabad.[70] In the Bhīṣma Parva of the Mahābhārata it is mentioned as Ikṣulā.[71] Pāṇini in his Aṣṭādhyāyī has located Sankissā on the bank of river Ikṣumatī.[72] In the Vāyu,[73] the Brahmānd,[74] and the Matsya[75] Purāṇas it finds mention as Ikṣulohita. According to Dr. D.C. Sircar, the name Ikṣu indicates the river Ikṣumatī.[76] In the Bhāgvata Purāṇa, it is mentioned as a river of Kurukṣetra.[77] The river also finds mention in the Bṛihata Saṁhitā.[78] Kalhana calls it Kālikā.[79]

The Greek writers had a considerable knowledge of the Kālīnadī. They have pronounced it as Kelydna[80] and Oxymogsi.[81]

The Kālīnadī rises from the Muzaffarnagar district and flows through the district Farrukhabad. Flowing along the border of the Pargana Samsabad east for some sixteen Kms. it forms the border of Farrukhabad and Mainpuri districts. It then runs in the east-south-east direction The river joins the Gaṅgā some six Kms. below Kanauj. The historical sites situated on or nearby the river are: (*i*) Kanauj, (*ii*) Pakhnā-Bihāra, (*iii*) Rajgir, and (*iv*) Sankissā Basantpur.

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Non (I)

The river Non takes its rise from the low swampy tract of Bilhaur tahsil. It assumes its definite channel when it enters Sheorajpur. It gains importance after crossing the Grand Trunk Road. It joins the river Gaṅgā just below Biṭhūr. Some ancient sites of considerable significance have been located on the river. Special mention may be made of Barhat, Hingurpur and Pingupur.

Non (II)

Another stream of the same name flows in the extreme south of Kanpur district. It takes rise in several large depressions in the central and the southern tracts of the tahsil Akbarpur, district Kanpur (D). The combined stream takes a southerly course through the Ghatampur tahsil. It joins the river Yamunā in Fatehpur district. The historical sites situated on or nearby the river are: (*i*) Bendā, (*ii*) Chanwar, and (*iii*) Kursenda.

Pandu

The Pandu is a tributary of the river Gaṅgā. It enters below Tirwa in district Farrukhabad from the Etawah district. In the Kanpur district it enters near the village Naila in tahsil Bilhaur. The river flows in a tortuous course. It traverses the tahsils of Bilhaur and Kanpur and joins the river Gaṅgā in Fatehpur district. The historical sites located on or nearby the river are: (*i*) Amlīpur, (*ii*) Atwā, (*iii*) Amaur, (*iv*) Barai-Garhi, and (*v*) Magarsā.

Rāmgaṅgā

The river Rāmgaṅgā rises near Nainital in the lower Himalayas. The river is 690 Kms. long and has a drainage area of 32,800 Kms.[82] It joins the river Gaṅgā at its left below Kanauj. During the floods it overflows its banks for a distance of 160 Kms. near its confluence.

Pargiter has identified the river Rāmgaṅgā with Bāhudā.[83] But other scholars do not agree to this identification. According to them Bāhudā is a river of eastern India.[84]

Rind

Like Isan, the river Rind has its source in Aligarh. The river is also known as 'Arind'. Before entering into the area under study it traverses Etah and Mainpuri districts. The river Rind enters

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into Farrukhabad district at Sakarva and flowing along the southern borders of Sakatpur it passes through the Etawah district. From Etawah the river first touched Kanpur district near the village Nār. It passes through the tahsils of Derapur, Akbarpur and Ghatampur, and joins the river Yamunā in Fatehpur district. The course of the river is zig-zag. Its length in Kanpur district is about 240 Kms. Though in the direct line from entry to exit, the distance is not more than 88 Kms. It appears that for this reason, the river derives its name from the word 'Rind'.

The river Rind must have enjoyed the reputation for sanctity. This conclusion can be drawn from the series of temples at Bhītargaon, Paraulī and Behtā, which are located in the lower part of its course. These temples are assigned to the period from 5th to 11th centuries A.D. Other sites of historical significance on or nearby are: (*i*) Aniti, (*ii*) Binaur, (*iii*) Gadan-Khera, (*iv*) Paḍarilālpur, and (*v*) Ujjhān.

Sengar

The river Sengar is a stream of considerable magnitude. It has its origin near Aligarh. After passing through Etah, Mainpuri and Etawah districts, the river enters the Derapur tahsil of Kanpur district (D). Then turning to the south-easterly direction it forms for some Kms. the boundary between Akbarpur and Bhognipur tahsil (D). It joins the river Yamunā at Ketorā in the same tahsil.

Yamunā

The river Yamunā is mentioned in the Ṛigveda,[85] the Atharvaveda[86] and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.[87] It is known as Kalindakanyā because it takes its rise from the Kalindagiri.[88] According to the Ṛigveda, the Tritsus and Sudāsa defeated their enemies on the bank of this river.[89] According to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[90] and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[91] the Bharatas were famed as victorious on the Yamunā.

The river finds mention in the Pancavimśa Brāhmaṇa,[92] and in the Śrautasūtras of the Sāṅkhyāyana,[93] the Kātyayana,[94] the Lātāyana[95] and the Aśvalāyana.[96] The Bodhāyanadharma Sūtra,[97] the Vāsiṣṭhadharma Sūtra[98] and the Viṣṇusmriti[99] also mention this river.

In the Rāmāyaṇa the river Yamunā has been frequently mentioned. In this Epic Kālīnadī has been described as a fast flowing

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stream.[100] Bharata had crossed it while coming back from the Kakeya country.[101] He again crossed this river when he was going back from Chitrakūṭa to Ayodhyā.[102] The Yamuna mountain has been referred to as a chief source of the river Yamunā.[103] In the Ādi,[104] the Sabhā,[105] and the Vana,[106] Parvas of the Mahābhārata the sanctity and the significance of the river have been described in detail.

The Purāṇas have used several names for the river Yamunā. The Vāyu,[107] the Matsya,[108] the Kūrma,[109] the Brahmaṇḍa[110] and the Vāmana Purāṇas[111] call it Yamunā. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions its name as Kālīnadī.[112] The Skanda Purāṇa has applied several epithets like Bhāmyā,[113] Sūryaputrī,[114] Kālīnadī,[115] Kalindatanayā,[116] and Pūrvavāhinī[117] for the river Yamunā. Its confluence with the river Gaṅgā has been eulogised as a very sacred spot.[118]

The river Yamunā also finds mention in the Buddhist[119] and the Jaina[120] literature. It is frequently referred to in the Mahābhāṣya,[121] the Raghuvaṁśa[122] and the Kādambarí,[123] Bāna calls it Kālīnadī due to darkness of its water. The river is also referred to in the Bṛihata Saṁhitā.[124]

The Greek writers have also referred to the river Yamunā. They have called it Diamouna,[125] Jomanes,[126] and Jobares.[127]

In the Eran Inscription of Budhagupta this river is called Kālīnadī.[128] The stone inscription of the Chandella ruler Yaśovarman mentions it as Kalindatanayā.[129] In the Bilharī Stone Inscription of Yuvarajadeva the river finds mention as Kālīnadī.[130]

The river Yamunā rises from the Yamunotri glacier lying on the western slope of the Bandarpunch peak. This peak is 6,387 metres high. The length of the river is from the source to its confluence with the river Gaṅgā at Allahabad is 1,376 Kms.[131] The drainage area of the river is 359,000 Kms.[132] From Agra to Mau (district Banda), it flows in the south-easterly direction and from Mau to Allahabad it flows in the north-easterly direction. It passes through the districts of Delhi, Mathura, Agra, Etawah, Kanpur and Hamirpur. The river forms the boundary between Kanpur and the Bundelkhanda districts of Jaulan and Hamirpur. The Chambel, the Betwa and the Ken rivers are its chief tributaries which join it on its right bank. It receives river Sengar at its left bank in district Kanpur.

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4

The Panchala Janapada

The first dynasty ruling over the major parts of the area under study was that of the Pañchālas. The Janapada word is first used in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.[1] The Pañchālas were most intimately connected with the Vedic culture of the Brāhmaṇa period. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa tells us that their early name was Krivi.[2] In the Ṛigveda Krivi appears as a tribal name.[3] According to the authors of the 'Vedic Index' the Krivis resided in the region near the Sindhu (Indus) and the Asiknī (Chenab) in the Punjab.[4]

In the Brāhmaṇa literature the Pañchālas are frequently mentioned along with the Kurus. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Pañchālas are grouped together with the Kurus, the Vaṁsas and the Usīnāras as the people of *Madhyamā dik* (Mid-land).[5] Similarly they are mentioned in the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā.[6] The same text mentions the name of their capital town Kāmpilya.[7] In the Jaiminīya Upanishad,[8] the Kausītakī Upanishad,[9] the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa,[10] the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā,[11] and the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā,[12] the Kuru-Pañchālas are referred to jointly.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa tells us that their speech was noted for its excellence.[13] The Sāṅkhyayana[14] and the Lātāyana Śruta Sūtras[15] mention that the mode of the sacrifice among the Kuru-Pañchālas was proclaimed to be the best. According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa their Kings used to perform the royal sacrifice.[16] The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa speaks of the periodical military expeditions undertaken by the Kings of Kuru-Pañchāla.[17] We learn from the Aitareya

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Brāhmaṇa that the land between Gaṅgā and Yamunā was prosperous.[18] King Durmukha of Pañchāla is mentioned in this work, who is credited to have extended his Kingdom largely. The reference also throws light on the fact that the King of Pañchāla became a staunch follower of the Vedic religion. In the Brahdāraṇyaka Upanishad we read that the Brāhmaṇas of the Kurus and the Pañchālas flocked to the Court of Janaka, the King of Videha.[19] The Chāndogya[20] and the Brahdāraṇyaka Upanishads[21] narrate as to how Śvetaketu Āruṇeya went to the assembly of the Pañchālas. There the Kṣatriya King Pravāhaṇa Jaivali put to him several questions, which neither Śvetaketu, nor his father was able to reply. Śvetaketu's father, though a Brāhmaṇa, was glad to learn the answers to those questions from Jaivali.[22] The Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā speaks of the Pañchālas as the people of Keśin Dālbhya.[23] The same text alludes to the performance of the Naimiṣiya Sacrifice in the land of the Kuru-Pañchālas.[24]

The Rāmāyaṇa does not throw any light on the history of the Pañchāla Janapada. In the Mahābhārata the Pañchālas are referred to many times. According to this great Epic the Śūrasenas, the Matsyas and the Pañchālas formed a group of people whose territories were contiguous to each other. It is stated in the Mahābhārata that the Paṇḍav brothers, while travelling in disguise, left the Pañchāla country and the river Kālindī and, passing through the Śūrasena country, finally arrived in the Matsya *Viṣaya*.[25] The Matsyas and the Pañchālas are usually grouped together in the great Epic; their companions were the Kekayas.[26] The Mahābhārata furnishes a short list of the Janapadas of Madhyadeśa which are described as lying particularly around the Kuru realm. The relevant extract is given below :—

Santiramya Janapadā bahvannāḥ paritaḥ Kurūn;
Pañchālāśchedimatsyāścha Śūrasenāḥ Paṭachcharāḥ,
Daśārṇa Navarāṣṭrāścha Mallāḥ Śālvā Yugandharāḥ;
Kuntirāṣṭraṁ Suvistīrṇaṁ Surāṣṭrāvantyastathā.[27]

The geographical location of some of these tribes shows that the Śālva, the Matsya, the Śūrasena and the Pañchāla Janapadas were situated '*Paritaḥ Kurūn*' (after the Kurus). They were the neighbours of the Pañchālas and the Matsyas on the north and west respectively and so the combination 'Pañchālāśchedimatsyāścha'

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agrees with the geographical setting. We learn from the Virāṭa Parva of the Mahābhārata that the Pañchālas were located on the north of the Matsyas and Daśārṇa was on the south of it.[28] The great Epic makes an explicit reference to the two divisions of the Pañchālas. The river Gaṅgā was forming the boundary line between the two divisions.[29] According to the Mahābhārata the Kingdom of the South Pañchāla extended as far north as the Bhāgīrathī, and as far south of Charmaṇavati (Chambel).[30] Many stories are referred to, about the people of Pañchāla in the Ādi,[31] the Droṇa,[32] the Udyoga,[33] the Bhīṣma,[34] the Karṇa,[35] the Vana,[36] and the Virāṭa[37] Parvas. The Somakas and the Sṛiñjayas are mentioned as parts of the Pañchālas.[38]

The Pañchālas are frequently referred to in the Matsya,[39] the Vāyu,[40] the Brahmāṇḍa,[41] and the Viṣṇu,[42] Purāṇas. The Garuḍa Purāṇa mentions the Pañchālas along with the Kurus, the Matsyas, the Yaudheyas, the Patacharas, the Kuntis and the Śūrasenas.[43] The Skanda Purāṇa mentions '*deśa*'[44] and '*Viṣaya*'[45] for the Pañchāla country. It has also used 'Kānyakubjadeśā, for the Pañchāla country.[46]

The Pañchāla Janapada continued to be regarded among the great and powerful kingdoms in the north India down to the time of Gautama Buddha. The Pañchāla Janapada finds mention in the list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas.[47] The Pañchālas are counted amongst the sixteen Janapadas also in the Jaina literature.[48] According to the Jaina texts, Pañchāla was one of the twenty five and a half Aryan countries with Kampillapur as its capital.[49] Several Pañchāla rulers figure in the Jaina Sūtras.[50]

Pāṇinī mentions 'Pāñchālaka' in his Aṣṭadhyāyī.[51] Patañjali refers to it as a Janapada in his Mahābhāṣya.[52] Varāhamihira places the Pañchālas among the people of the middle country.[53] The Pañchāla ruler, called Pañchala, is spoken of as the Chief King of Madhyadeśa.[54]

Antiquity of Name and Expansion

The name Pañchāla has been interpreted in several ways. According to one view, the region came to be known as Pañchāla when it became the home of five vedic clans: (*i*) the Krivis, (*ii*) the Turvaśas, (*iii*) the Keśins, (*iv*) the Sṛiñjayas and, (*v*) the Somakas.[55] They merged into one nationality with the Krivis as the predominant element. The Krivis find mention first in the Ṛigveda along with

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the Sindhu and Asikni.[56] The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa clearly states that the Pañchālas were called Krivis in ancient times.[57] It indicates that Krivis were an important factor among the people of Pañchāla.

The Purāṇic tradition does not support the above theory. According to it the Kingdom came to be called Pañchāla due to the fact that five able sons of the Pañchāla ruler were powerful enough to guard or protect the area.[58] According to Pargiter[59] the name Pañchāla "obviously began popular as a nickname, applied to his (King's) five sons, the 'five capables', and naturally would have required time to become into ordinary use." The names of these five princes vary in different Purāṇas. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives their names as: (*i*) Mudgala, (*ii*) Yavīnara, (*iii*) Bṛihadvisha, (*iv*) Sañjaya, and (*v*) Kāmpilya.[60] The Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions them as: (*i*) Mudgala, (*ii*) Sṛiñjaya, (*iii*) Bṛihadishu, (*iv*) Pravīra, and (*v*) Kāmpilya.[61] According to the Brahmaṇḍa[62] and the Matsya Purāṇas[63] their names are: (*i*) Mudgala, (*ii*) Sṛiñjaya, (*iii*) Bṛihadishu, (*iv*) Yavīnara, and (*v*) Krimilāśva. They formed the constituent elements of the Pañchāla Janapada.

Whether we assume that the Pañchālas had originally formed a confederacy of the five tribes or believe the Purāṇas that the first King of the Pañchāla had five able sons to govern the five divisions, we cannot but think that the Kingdom of Pañchāla was once divided into five parts. How these parts were designated and discriminated, we cannot exactly explain. The Saṁhitopanishad Brāhmaṇa, however, speaks of the 'Prāchya' (eastern) Pañchāla.[64] The Kaṭhaka Saṁhitā refers to three divisions of the Pañchalas.[65]

The boundaries of the Pañchāla Janapada were changing from time to time. According to Alexander Cunningham the great Kingdom of Pañchāla as a whole extended from the Himalayas to the river Chambel.[66] B.C. Law states that the Pañchālas comprised Bareilly, Budaun, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of Rohilkhanda and the Central Doab.[67] According to Prof. Ali, the Janapada extended from the Gaṅgā in the west to the Sarju in the east and occupied only the northern half portion of their Doab and the middle portion of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab.[68] H.C. Raychaudhuri suggests that the Pañchālas were bounded on the east by the Gaumti and on the south by the Chambel.[69] Dr. Awasthi opines that the Pañchāla Janapada comprised Etawah, Farrukhabad, Kanpur, Unnao, Budaun, Hardoi, Shahjahanpur, Pelibhita and Bareilly

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districts of Uttar Pradesh.[70]

The Mahābhārata[71] and the Divyāvadāna[72] refers to the two divisions of the Pañchāla country viz. (*i*) Uttara or north Pañchāla, and (*ii*) Dakshiṇa or south Pañchāla. According to the great Epic Uttara Pañchāla had its capital at Ahichchhattrā and the south Pañchāla had its capital at Kāmpilya which stretched from the Gaṅgā to the Chambel.[73] According to the Jaina work 'Vividhatīrthakalpa' Kampilya was situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā.[74] Cunningham has correctly identified the city of Kāmpilya with the modern Kampil on the old Gaṅgā between Budaun and Farrukhabad districts.[75] Nundo Lal Dey and other scholars follow the identification of Cunningham.[76]

After the rule of the Śuṅga dynasty of Puśyamitra several Mitra rulers governed the Pañchāla Janapada with their seat at Ahichchhattrā. The coins of these rulers have been found in large numbers in Bareilly, Budaun and Farrukhabad districts of Uttar Pradesh.

In the middle of the 4th century A.D. the Gupta monarch Samudragupta conquered the Pañchāla Kingdom along with several other Kingdoms of Āryāvarta. After this, the independent status of Pañchāla was over and the area became part of the Gupta empire.

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69. Raychaudhuri, *Ibid.*, P. 64.
70. A.B.L. Awasthi, *Prāchīna Bhāratiya Bhūgola*, P. 35.
71. 1.138.70.
72. P. 435.
73. *Mbh.*, 1.138.73-74.
74. P. 50.
75. *A.G.I.*, P. 413; *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. I, P. 255.
76. Dey, *Ibid.*, P. 88.

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5

Towns and Villages

Ahirwah

The village is situated on the Grand Trunk Road near the civil aerodrome at a distance of 13 Kms. north-west of Kanpur City. The site is noted for an early Medieval sculptural wealth. The images of Umā-Maheśwara, Śiva and Gaṇeśa deserve special mention.

Ainti

The village is located in the Ghatampur tahsil, 26 Kms. south-west of Ghatampur town. It contains a fort-mound covered with different size of bricks.[1]

Akbarpur-Bīrbal

The village is situated on the left bank of River Yamunā at a distance of 13 Kms. south-west of Ghatampur tahsil. The site is noted for the sculptures of the early Medieval period, lying at a place known as 'Sītā Kā Sthāna'.[2] Among them a mutilated figure of Mahiṣāsuramardinī is important. The village was founded by Bīrbal, minister of Akbar and derives a portion of its name from both minister and the Mughal Emperor.[3] The village has an ancient temple dedicated to Rādhā and Krishna.[3a]

Alwarkhera

The village is situated in the Kanpur tahsil, 15 Kms. from Kanpur. In the middle of the village there is one image of Mahiṣāsura-

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mardinī. The figure of the deity is carved in relief. The Goddess is shown killing the buffalow demon. She has eight arms and measures 90×60 cms.

Amaulī

The village stands about 6 Kms. south of Ghatampur tahsil and one and a half Kms. east from the pakka road which leads to Hamirpur. The site is noted for a mound. Pieces of N.B.P. ware, grey ware and black polished ware have been found at the site.[4]

Amaur

The village Amaur is about 9 Kms. north-east from Bhītargaon. It contains a brick temple of the early Medieval type.[5] The temple is known as 'Mahādeva Bābā'. This brick temple still shows few carved bricks which were used for the external decoration.

Amlīpur

The village Amlīpur is situated 17 Kms. south of Kanpur. The site is noted for a number of stone sculptures and terracotta figures of the early Medieval period.[6] All these pieces are kept on a brick platform.

Amritpur

The village Amritpur is situated 22 Kms. north of Fatehgarh, district Farrukhabad. It possess the remains of an old fort.[7]

Amsur

The village is situated in the Ghatampur tahsil at a distance of 12 Kms. It is noted for a brick temple of tenth century A.D.[8] The temple is made of carved bricks. The original architecture of the temple is not discernible because of the subsequent repairs. The plinth portion is in recessing position. A Śiva Liṅga is under worship in the cella of the temple.

Aśvatīrtha

It was a tīrtha situated on the confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā and Kālīnadī near Kanauj.[9] Here the sage Richīka is said to have given one thousand horses as a bride-price to Gādhi for the latter's daughter, Saraswatī.[10] Aśvatīrtha is also mentioned in the Kālikā Purāṇa.[11] According to Skanda Purāna a dip there was considered as efficacious as the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice.[12] The

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name Aśvatırtha is significant. It may point out to the importance of the locality as a mart, where horses were collected for sale.

Atarrā

The village stands at a distance of 8 Kms. east of Ghatampur tahsil. There is a place known as 'Narayana Devī', which has two images of Viṣṇu belonging to the early Medieval period. One of the images is in standing pose, retaining only three hands. The lower left hand is missing. The face of the deity is slightly damaged. The image is carved out in red sand stone and measures 90×65 cms.

Atwā

The village Atwā stands to the east of Bedheuna at a distance of 8 Kms. on the right bank of river Pandu. It contains a small mound which covers an area of about 182 to 213 metres in periphery with an height of about 4 to 5 metres. The mound is noted for black polished ware, red coarse and slipped ware.[13] On the mound several broken pieces of medieval sculptures were also noticed. Some sculptures are kept in a place known as 'Bhuiyan Mahārānī'. They include terracotta heads, flying figures of stone, Śiva liṅga, Śiva head and a Viṣṇu head.[14]

Barhat

The village Barhat is situated on the river Non I at a distance of 3 Kms. south of Biṭhūr. The village is noted for a small mound. The mound has yielded pieces of black polished ware, glazed Muslim potsherds and brick measuring 45×23×8 cms. and 30×18×5 cms.[15] The mound is 4 to 5 metres high from the surrounding level.

Bairi

The village is situated on Kalyānapur-Biṭhūr road in Kanpur tahsil (N). The village is noted for a small mound, which has yielded pieces of red coarse ware, black polished ware and brickbats.[16] The mound covers an area of about 456×322 metres in periphery. It is some 6 metres high from the surrounding level.

Bambi-Changi

The twin villages Bambi-Changi are situated in the vicinity of Narwal in Kanpur district (N). A number of stone images of Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Varāha, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Śiva-Pārvatī and a female

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standing in *Tribhaṅga Mudrā* were found lying scattered in the villages.[17]

Bānīpārā

The village Bānīpārā (lat 26° 31′ N and long 79° 53′ E) is situated in Derapur tahsil of district Kanpur (D) at a distance of 8 Kms. from Rura Station on N. Railway. There is an ancient mound at the site. An important and rare sculpture of Rāvaṇa lifting Kailāsa has been found in this village.[18] Four armed Śiva is seated on a lotus cushion with Pārvatī by his side. Śiva holds a 'Triśūla' in his upper hand and by the lower left grasps Pārvatī who, on account of the quivering of the mountain, turns towards him in fear. Below the cushion seat we see the vehicles of Śiva, Pārvatī and Gaṇeśa with Kārtikeya riding on a peacock. The lower portion of the composition exhibits Rāvaṇa with six arms, exerting all his might to throw down the mountain throne of Śiva after recklessly beating the ground.[19]

Badan-Nivādā

The village Badan-Nivādā is situated about two Kms. south of Grand Trunk Road near Uttari-Pura in tahsil Bilhaur. There is a temple known as 'Muktādavī' in the outskirts of the village. The temple is situated on a small mound, which is 2 to 4 metres above the surrounding level. The temple enshrines an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī of about 1000 A.D. Some images of the same period were also seen lying around the temple during the course of exploration. The village has a mound covered with potsherds and brick-bats.

Bārā

The village Bārā (lat 26° 22′ N and long 80° 1′ E) stands on the south side of the main road from Kanpur to Kalpi, at a distance of 37 Kms. west-south-west of Kanpur and about 6 Kms. east of Akbarpur. There is a big mound in the village. The main yield from the mound is, the N.B.P. ware.[20] The mound is about 322 metres in circuit with a height of about 8 to 10 metres.

Another important find of the town is the Bārā copper Plate Inscription of Gurjara Pratīhāra King Bhoja.[21] The inscription is dated in Vikram Saṁvat 893 (836 A.D.) and is the earliest record of emperor Bhoja. It was issued from Mahodaya (Kanauj). It records that the grant was originally made by Parmeśvara Sarva-

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varmmadeva, and was sanctioned by Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭadeva. This grant was disturbed in the time of Mahārāja Rāmabhadra and was restored by Bhojadeva. The inscription also traces the genealogy of the Pratīhāra family from Mahārāja Devaśakti up to Bhoja. Bhoja is mentioned as a devotee of Bhagavatī (goddess Durgā). Some medieval sculptures were also noticed in and around the Śiva temple of the village in course of my survey.

Baraigarhi

The village (lat 26° 13′ N and long 80° 23′ E) stands at a distance of 4 Kms. on the south side of the road from Narwal to Sarh, and 29 Kms. from Kanpur City. The village derives its name from a small fortress, now in ruins on a mound known as 'garhī'. An image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī was seen on the mound.[22]

Behtā

The village Behtā is situated at a distance of about 3 Kms. south of Bhītargaon. According to Whalley Paul, the word Behtā means a dwelling or a form and derives its name from these words.[23] Some scholars opine that a place is called Behtā where market is held twice a week.[24]

The village is noted for a brick temple. It is of a semicircle shape. The brick structure appears to be a later addition. The old sanctum accommodates a big image of Jaganātha. The sanctum has a separate roof supported by stone pillars with vase and foliage (*ghata-pallava*) motifs. It appears from the interior of the sanctum that an ancient temple made of bricks and stones once stood there. A number of large and well executed sculptures assignable from 9th to 11th centuries A.D. are preserved in the temple. There are numerous architectural pieces in the form of pillars, doorjambs, lintels, etc. lying around the temple compound. Some of them have been used in repairing the temple complex. Among the sculptures, images of Viṣṇu, Śesaśāyī, Sūrya, dancing Gaṇeśa, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Śiva-Pārvatī deserve special mention.[25] According to Vogel, the stone door frames used in the temple of Behtā, resemble those of Lakṣmaṇa brick temple in Sirpur, district Raipur of Madhya Pradesh.[26]

Bendā

The village Bendā is located on the left bank of the river Non II, at a distance of 6 Kms. west of Ghatampur tahsil near Mughal

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Road. There is a small mound near the village. The mound has a temple at its top. The shrine contains some stone sculptures of 9th-10th centuries A.D.[27] An image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī deserves special mention. It belongs to the Kushāṇa period.[28]

Bhadras

The village stands at a distance of 6 Kms. north-west of Ghatampur town. The site has a big mound measuring about 182 metres in periphery with a height of about 6 to 8 metres. The shape of the mound is oval. The surface finds of the mound speak of the antiquity of the site. It has been noted for the occurrence of N.B.P., black polished ware, grey and red coarse ware.[29] The mound is locally known as 'Devī Kā Tīlā'.

Bhītargaon

The village Bhītargaon (lat. 26° 12′ N and long 80° 16′ E) is located on the Narwal-Ghatampur road. The course of river Rind is now 5 Kms. from the town. It is 40 Kms. south of Kanpur City. The local people say that there was an ancient extensive city known as 'Phūlpur' or 'Flower-town' and the present village stands in the centre of the city.[30]

The temple of Bhītargaon marks a high edifice with a *Śikhara*. From the centre of a high plinth its height is 21.3 metres. The base is square, being 10.9 metres in diameter with double recessed angles. There is a porch facing the east with steps. This leads through a passage to an inner sanctum which is 4.6 metres square.[31]

The temple belongs to the Gupta period.[32] It is decorated with as many as 120 terracotta panels arranged in nine tires around the structure, which diminishes widthwise from top to bottom. The niches on the exterior walls of the temple also gradually become smaller in the like manner. The niches contain terracotta panels depicting various interesting scenes such as: (*i*) Divinities, (*ii*) Decorative motifs, (*iii*) Male and female figures, (*iv*) Couples, (*v*) Wrestling scenes, (*vi*) Man fighting a bull, (*vii*) Lion fighting a Python, (*viii*) Scenes, (*ix*) Processions, (*x*) Nāgas, (*xi*) Groups, and (*xii*) Cubs playing in the forest.[33]

There are three important features about the construction of this temple which make it a unique experiment in early brick architecture of the Gupta period. They are:[34]

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(*i*) An experiment with the conical vault with in and the semi-circular arches of the passage;

(*ii*) The recessed planes by which the monotony of the brick structure outside is broken to give the rhythmic effect;

(*iii*) The carving in brick and terracotta panels adjected on various sides, with dynamic religious and secular scenes.

Cunningham has recorded his speculations as to how the temple, with its many terracotta sculptures, could have escaped the fury of the iconoclasts. He ascribes this miracle to its obscure position away from the main highways. To be sure, Kanpur was unknown during the 10th century A.D. when Mahmūd visited India and Lucknow was just a village. Bhītargaon was away from the main route. The Grand Trunk Road, leading from Allahabad to Doab, bisects at Fatehpur, the other end leading to Etawah. Thus Bhītargaon is left sequestered in the broad space between these roads. Again the roads from Kanauj via Kalpi and from Oudh via Jājmau and Chilla Taraghat to Mahoba in the south, pass many Kms. to the west and the east of the village Bhītargaon. The bends of the Rind river protected it on one side and the thick mango groves must have abounded to obscure the shrine from the view. The temple was regarded a private one of no special significance and was not a place of pilgrimage. Its name was unknown in literature except amongst the surrounding villagers.[35]

At a distance of 237 metres due south from the temple, there is a mound of ruins covered with large bricks and broken figures. According to the people these are the remains of a temple called 'Jhijhi Nāga'. Cunningham found one single room of 7×2.3 metres with a thick wall of 1.4 metres. The door was facing the east side. In the back wall there were four niches.[36] According to some scholars that temple also belonged to the period of the Bhītargaon temple.[37]

In our recent survey a stone tarso of Bodhisattva figure was identified by Prof. Bajpai.

Bhojpur

The village Bhojpur (lat 27° 17′ N and long 79° 41′ E), stands prominently on the high cliff of the river Gaṅgā, 10 Kms. south of Fatehgarh, in the centre of thickly wooded tract intersected by ravines. The site is noted for a big fort mound. A large number of

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houses are built of the old bricks dug out of the ruined fort.

The Skanda Purāṇa[38] mentions the name Bhojakaṭa which Dr. A.B.L. Awasthi identifies with Bhojpur.[39] We learn from the Pehova inscription of Mahendrapāla that a temple of Viṣṇu was erected at Bhojpur on the bank of the river Gaṅgā.[40] A stone figure of a Couchant lion, assignable to 2nd century A.D., has been noticed during the course of my survey in the compound of late Sri Prithvinath.

Bhul

The village is located at a distance of 16 Kms. north-west of Kanpur City. There is a small mound at the site.

Binaur

The village Binaur (lat 26° 23′ N and long 80° 9′ E), stands to the west of Kanpur City, at a distance of 3 Kms. south of Sachendi and 22 Kms. from Kanpur. There is a mound near the village. Different size of bricks have been found there.

Birhan

The village Birhan is at a distance of 3 Kms. from Lālā Bhagat in Derapur tahsil of Kanpur district (D). It has a small mound. Some pieces of sculptures of the early Medievel period were found lying on the mound.

Birsinghpur

The village Birsinghpur stands at a distance of 13 Kms. north-east of Ghatampur town. A number of fragmentary sculptures assignable to 9th-11th centuries A.D. are seen scattered in the village.

Birhar

The village is located at a distance of 14 Kms. east of Ghatampur town. The river Rind flows at a short distance from the village. The site is noted for its sculptural wealth assignable of 9th to 10th centuries A.D. The art-relics represent a Nāga deity with serpent-hood, a pedestal bearing, a pair of lions, a broken doorjamb showing a lady in *tribhaṅga* pose and fragments of Śiva-Pārvatī and Mahiṣāsuramardinī, etc.[41]

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Bishangarh

The village Bishangarh (lat 27° 10′ N and long 79° 35′ E), stands at a distance of 9 Kms. south-west of Chhibramau and 53 Kms. south-west of Fatehgarh. The village has a castle, enclosed within a large wall and a ditch.

Biṭhūr

The town of Biṭhūr (lat 26° 37′ N and long 80° 16′ E) stands on the right bank of the river Gaṅgā, at a distance of 22 Kms north of Kanpur City. According to the Mahābhārata it was called Utpalavana or Utpalāraṇya.[42] The town was famous as a Brahmāvarta Tīrtha.[43] As a sacred spot it finds mention in the Maṭsya[44] and the Agni Purāṅa.[45] In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa it is mentioned as Utpalāvaṭa-Kānana.[46] Nando Lal Dey identifies it with Utpalāraṇya.[47] According to some scholars it was also called Pratishṭāna.[48] According to the Mahābhārata the town was located in the Paṅchāla country.[49]

The town contains a landing ghāt known as Brahmāvarta ghāt, which is one of the celebrated places of pilgrimage. We learn from Rāmāyaṇa that Vālmīki Āśrama was situated on the bank of the river Gaṅgā.[50] Lakṣamaṇa and Sītā are said to have crossed the river at this place.[51] It was here that Sītā gave birth to two sons, Lava and Kuśa. According to the tradition it was the site of the celebrated city called Pratishṭhāna, the capital of Rājā Uttanapāda. His son Druva was born at this place. According to the Purāṇa he practised asceticism in the forest of Mathurā.[52] The remains found here are said to be the relics of Rājā Uttānapāda's castle.

The earliest archaeological evidence obtained from the site is that of the Copper Implements.[53] A small mound on the eastern edge of the town, known as Vālmīki Āśrama, has yielded a large number of N.B.P. sherds.[54] The sculptures assignable of 9th-10th centuries A.D. were also noticed during the course of my survey. These represent Sūrya, Mahiṣāsuramardinī and other deities.

Chanwar

The village Chanwar is located at a distance of 9 Kms. north-west of Ghatampur town. The site has a mound. It is covered with pot-sherds and brickbats. A few fragmentary stone sculptures of the early Medieval period are housed in a modern temple built at the top of the mound. Some terracotta figurines of the Gupta period

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and one tribal coin are also reported from the site.[55]

Remains of a carved brick temple have also been found.[56] The temple is square in plan and faces towards west. It is about 18 metres high. Due to the subsequent repairs its original features have been confused. The remaining old bricks are carved with floral designs of 9th-10th centuries A.D. The tower portion of the temple has fallen down. Some fragmentary crossbars with ancient decorative motifs along with some early Medieval images were noticed under a tree close to the temple.[57]

Chāndapur

The small village Chāndapur is situated on the left bank of river Yamunā, at a distance of 1.5 Kms. south of Mūsānagar. The village has a mound. The main yield from the mound is N.B.P. ware.[58]

Chaparghatā

The village Chaparghatā is located inside the fortified walls, at a distance of 3 Kms. west of Mūsānagar and 13 Kms. east of Bhognipur on the left bank of river Sengar. The site is noted for stone sculptures assignable to 9th-11th centuries A.D. There are few architectural pieces in the form of pillars, doorjambs, etc.

Chaudhariapur

The small village Chaudhariapur stands on the right bank of the river Kālīnadī, at a distance of 2.5 Kms. east of Kanauj. The site is noted for its sculptural wealth. Special mention may be made here of the eight-armed dancing Gaṇeśa and another image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī of 8th-9th centuries A.D.

Chhatarpur

The village Chhatarpur is situated at a distance of 18 Kms. southeast of Bilhaur town. The village is surrounded with a brick wall. Looking into the situation and the topography, it is evident that the village is of much antiquity. The local temple, known as Khereshwara is of considerable importance. The present structure does not go before 18th century A.D. It is erected over an old site. Within the Cella of the temple a *pāda-pīṭha* is seen (9th-10th century A.D.) Outside the temple a few stone carved pieces have been noticed. Mention may be made of a Navagraha-panel of the period. The temple is located near an ancient gate which leads to river

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Gaṅgā.

Another temple, known after the Epic hero Aśvasthāmā, is located on a small mound. On the platform of the temple a few early Medieval sculptures representing Gaṇeśa, Navagraha, etc. have been noticed during the course of my exploration. There are several ornamental architectural pieces. Adjacent to the temple towards the south, there is a small mound which seems to mark the remains of an ancient building. At present nothing is left at the site.

The third temple known as Sidheśvara, stands at a short distance from the Aśvasthāmā temple towards the west. The temple is standing at the top of the mound which is about 6 to 8 metres high from the surrounding level. Many stone sculptures have been noticed in the compound of the temple and around it. Mention may be made of Sūrya, Āmalaka, Mithuna figures, carved doorjambs, Navagraha panels and Viṣṇu images, assignable from the 8th to 11th centuries A.D. A Buddha head of 5th-6th century A.D. has also been noticed during the course of exploration.

The most important find of the village is a copper plate inscription of the time of Govind-Chandra Deva of Kanauj dated in Vikram Saṁvat 1177 (1120 A.D.).[59]

Chhibramau

The town stands at a distance of 27 Kms. south-west of Fatehgarh. It has the remains of a large ruined fort and an old Sarai.[60]

Devakali

The small village Devakali is located at a distance of 3 Kms. east of Kanauj. The site is noted for its sculptural wealth. Mention may be made of an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, tarso of Sūrya, architectural fragments, doorjambs assignable to the period 8th to 10th centuries A.D.

Dul

The small village is located at a distance of 17 Kms. north-west of Kanpur City. There is a small mound at the site.

Farrukhabad

The town of Farrukhabad (lat 27° 24′ N and long 79° 40′ E) which gives its name to the district lies 5.5. Kms. north-west of Fatehgarh. The town is surrounded by a triangular wall, some

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places as high as 6 metres and about 3 to 3.5 metres thick. There are ten entrances to enter the town.[61]

On the western border of the town there is a large and high mound, on which are located the Town hall building, the water reservoir and few other buildings. The mound is locally known as 'Bhishmapur'. It is about 20 metres high having its lower part with deposits of river-silt. Its western and southern sides have been badly eroded by the river Gaṅgā and now stand as vertical cliffs. It is difficult to climb the mound except at the points cut up by rain-gullies. The exploration of the sides has brought to light the ceramic of early historical period. These are Painted grey, northern black polished ware and glazed ware.[62] The shapes represented in the Painted grey ware include the dish, basin, bowl and a lota shaped vessels.[63]

Associated with this ware are a thin red ware, black polished and black and red ware.[64] In the red ware a complete dish with incurved sides and saggar-base has been reported.[65] The shapes represented in polished black ware consist of the bowl and dish.[66] Among other antiquities, mention may be made of several terracotta dishes in grey fabric, bearing incised decoration and a broken terracotta figurine.[67]

A big headless seated image of Buddha in *Padmāsana* has been reported from the town.[68] It is now preserved in the Bhārata Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.

A unique gold coin of King Harshavardhana of Kanauj has been discovered at Farrukhabad. The coin gives the name of Harsha along with his full imperial titles in the Brāhmī script of the 7th century A.D. On its reverse are shown Śiva and Pārvatī seated on the bull Nandī.[69]

Fatehgarh

The town of Fatehgarh (lat 27° 22′ N and long 79° 41′ E) lies on the right bank of the river Gaṅgā. The name of Fatehgarh, which belonged historically to the old fort, has now been extended to the military settlement. The fort stands on the high river bank. The walls were of mud and were originally flanked by twelve bastions, but now much out of repairs. The original castle was built by Nawab Muhammad Khan (1713-1743 A.D.).[70]

The earliest archaeological evidence obtained from the site is that of archaic copper implements.[71] Among them a copper antennae

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sword finds special mention.[72]

Gadankhera

The small village of Gadankhera is located on the river Rind, at a distance of 23 Kms. west of Kanpur. The village has a mound. It is covered with brickbats and carved bricks. The traces of an ancient brick temple are visible on the mound.

Ghatampur

The town Ghatampur (lat 26° 9′ N, long 80° 10′ E) stands on the Kanpur and Hamirpur road, at a distance of 43 Kms. from Kanpur City. This road is crossed here by the Mughal Road. According to the tradition, the place is said to have been founded by one Ghātam Deo, a Bais Chieftain who expelled the Ahirs and defeated their leader Buldani and captured their stronghold of Kurain.[73] At a distance of about 1 Km. south of the town, a brick temple in ruins assignable to 11th-12th centuries A.D. is located. In front of the temple a broken door lintel showing a band of musicians and fragmentary sculptures representing Gaṇeśa and Śiva were identified.[74]

Godhani

The village Godhani is located at a distance of 12 Kms. north-west of Kanauj. The site is noted for sculptural wealth. In the modern temple of Godhanī Devī, a stone image of Jain Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra is housed along with the doorjambs and door-lintels assignable to 8th-10th centuries A.D. In one of the panels goddess Gaṅgā has been carved riding on a *makara*.

Halpurā

The village Halpurā is situated at a distance of 11 Kms. north-west from Bilhaur town. It is connected with the Araul Railway Station by a road. A number of fragmentary sculptures assignable to 9th-11th centuries A.D. are seen scattered in the village.[75]

Harhā

The small village of Harhā is located at a distance of 24 Kms. south-west of Kanpur City. The site contains a few stone sculptures of which Gaṇeśa and Nandī assignable to 9th-10th centuries A.D. deserve special mention.

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Hāthīpur

The village Hāthīpur is situated to the south-east of Kanpur at a distance of 12 Kms. The village contains a big mound. It is noted for Medieval potsherds.[76] A number of well executed sculptures ranging from 9th to 13th centuries A.D. are also reported from the site. Mention may be made of Śiva-Pārvatī, Dwārapālas, upper portion of a colossal image of Śiva-Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu.[77] Other architectural pieces are in the form of pillars, lintels, door-jambs, etc.

Hathumā

The small village Hathumā is located, at a distance of 14 Kms. west of Derapur tahsil. 39 Punch-marked coins were reported from the site in the year 1954-55.[78] They fall under six types viz. (*i*) thin, (*ii*) thin round, (*iii*) flat irregular, (*iv*) round dumpy, (*v*) rectangular, and (*vi*) dumpy irregular shape.[79] They bear usual symbols and are known as Karshāpaṇas. Their usual weight is 32 rattis (57.6 grains).[80]

Hingurpur and Pingupur

The twin villages are located at a distance of 3 Kms. south-west of Biṭhūr, on the left bank of river Non I. They contain a big mound. The mound is carved with glazed ware, thick sherds with black polish and brickbats.[81]

Jahāngīrābād

The village Jahāngīrābād is situated, at a distance of 5.5 Kms. north-east of Ghatampur town. The village has a big mound. The main yield of the mound is Painted Grey ware, N.B.P. ware, fine grey, black polished and red coarse ware.[82] The Painted Grey ware bears painted designs with black pigments. The motifs include simple bands and group of vertical and oblique lines in profile.[83]

Jājmau

The village Jājmau (lat 26° 28′ N and long 80° 21′ E) stands on the right bank of the river Gaṅgā at a distance of 5 Kms. east of Kanpur City. In the revenue records the village finds mention as Bazidpur.[84] Tradition states that the ancient name of the village was Siddhapuri or Siddhipur.[85] A temple known as Siddheshwar still stands on the right bank of the river near a masonry ghāt. Another

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ancient name of the village was Yayātipur.[86] The remains of a fort called to be those of Raja Yayāti are pointed out. The present structure is said to have been built by Raja Jijāt Chandravamsi, one of the ancestors of the Chandellas.[87] Alberuni (1030 A.D.) mentions the name of the village as Jajjamau.[88] He states that the distance between Kanauj and Jajmau was 12 farsakh (77 Kms.).[89] According to the Whalley Paul, the village derives its name from the Sanskrit word Yajña (Hindi Jaj or Jag). The village Mau was donated to the Brāhmaṇa who performed the sacrifice (Jājaka) by the institutor.[90]

The site is noted for a lofty mound of vast dimension, about 2 Kms. in length, 200 metre in width and approximately 20 metres in height. Painted Grey ware, N.B.P. ware, Plain grey ware, black polished, red slipped and red coarse ware and a tribal coin have been obtained from the mound.[91] The Painted Grey ware sherds bear line designs with black pigments. One sherd bears a design of *Swastika*. In N.B.P. ware, sherds of dish and bowl are dominant. The red ware sherds bear decorative designs of *Nandyāvarta* and palm symbols.

A sealing has been reported from the site.[92] It contains the Buddhist creed in the characters of the early Gupta period. Above the legend is a Stupa flanked by smaller Stupas on either side. There is a snake between the left and the central Stupa. The zig-zag line between the central and the right Stupas also stands for the same. Below the legend is a half rising sun or a floral design.[93] According to Dr. K.K. Thaplyal, the presence of the snake (or snakes) is suggestive of Nāga association as they are known to be the guardians of the Stupas.[94]

The recent excavations at the site have yielded terracotta objects, such as stoppers, discs, toy-cart wheels, balls, slings, dabbers, potter's-stamps, beads, human and animal figures, etc. Terracotta figures with applied head-dresses, pinched nose and slit eyes associated with Grey ware deserve special mention.[95] One of the terracotta sealing bears Swastik mark and an other depicts indistinct letters in Brāhmī script.

The iron implements include arrow-heads, spear-heads, rings and nails. One stone tablet deserves special mention. It bears an inscription. Prof. Bajpai has read the inscription as 'Sangha'. The tablet belongs to 1st-2nd centuries A.D. One terracotta figure of Mātrikā Devī assignable to the Kushāṇa period has been obtained in the course of excavation during 1975-76. A few punch-marked coins

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have also been found.

A red sand stone image of Buddha was discovered in the village. The image is 1.3 metres high. It represents Buddha standing in the *abhayamudrā*. The hands, feet and nose of the deity are damaged. The style of the carving is that of the Mathurā School of the Gupta period.[96] This image is important and its carving shows high workmanship of the Gupta period.

Jankhaṭ

The village Jankhaṭ (lat 26° 53′ N and long 79° 51′ E) is situated towards the south-west of Kanauj, at a distance of 28 Kms. It is generally believed that Jankhaṭ and Sankissā were associated with King Janaka of Mithilā, father of Sītā. We learn from the Rāmāyaṇa that Sankissā was the capital town of Kuśadhvaja, the younger brother of King Janaka.[97] One mutilated stone image at Jankhaṭ of the early Medieval period is said to represent King Janaka. It is worshipped by the villagers as such. The word Jankhaṭ has resemblance with the name of Janaka.

The village has an extensive mound. The brickbats and the potsherds are scattered over the mound and testify to its early occupation. During the course of exploration the author found several fragmentary stone images. The well known stone inscription from Jankhaṭ, was first noticed by Mr. Richard Burn and was published by Pargiter.[98] This lithic record is dated in the 13th year of King Vīrasena. According to several scholars Vīrasena ruled over Mathurā in 3rd century A.D. Copper Coins of this ruler have been found in large numbers in and around Mathurā, Kanauj and other neighbouring districts of Farrukhabad.[99]

Jeorā-Kheorā

The twin villages Jeorā and Kheorā are located on the old bed of Gaṅgā, at a distance of 3 Kms. north-west of Kanpur City. They contain an extensive mound 1 Km. in length and approximately 10 to 12 metres in height The mound has yielded Painted Grey ware, N.B.P. ware, black polished and red ware.[100] A cubical terracotta tablet representing three incised lines has been found during the course of our exploration. A few fragmentary stone sculptures assignable to 10th-11th centuries A.D. are housed in a modern temple at the summit of the mound.

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Kalyānpur

The village Kalyānpur (lat. 26° 29′ N and long 80° 15′ E) stands on the Grand Trunk Road, at a distance of 9 Kms. north-west of Kanpur. The site is noted for its sculptural wealth. A few stone sculptures were seen in the compound of the local Somanātha temple, assignable to the early Medieval period. The stone sculptures deserving special mention are a door lintel bearing figures of Brahmā, Varāha and Narsiṁha, dancing Gaṇeśa, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Varāhī, Navagraha panel, etc. Other architectural pieces are doorjambs, doorlintels, etc.[101]

Kampil

Kampil (ancient Kāmpilya) stands (lat 27° 39′ N and long 79° 20′ E) on the old cliff of river Gaṅgā, at a distance of 45 Kms. north-west of Fatehgarh. The epithet Kāmpīla-Vāsinī which is applied to a woman occurs in the Taittirīya,[102] the Maitrāyanī Saṁhitās,[103] the Taittirīya,[104] and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas, etc.[105] Scholars take Kāmpīla as the name of the town known as Kāmpīlya in the later literature, the capital of Pañchāla.[106] In the Brahmadatta Jātaka it is referred to as Kampilaraṭṭa or Kāmpilyarāṣtra.[107] The Skanda Purāṇa calls it Kāmpilyanagara.[108]

Rāmāyaṇa describes it as beautiful as the abode of Indra.[109] The Mahābhārata mentions it as the capital of Southern Pañchāla.[110]

The town is frequently referred to in the Buddhist and Jaina literature. We learn from the Jatakas that an artistic tunnel was dug out from the river Gaṅgā to the royal palace at Kāmpilya. The mouth of the greater tunnel was on the bank of the river. It was dug out by many warriors. The lesser tunnel was said to have been excavated by seven hundred men. The entrance into the greater tunnel was provided by a door fitted with a machinery. The tunnel was built up with bricks. There were many chambers and lamp-cells in it. It was well decorated.[111]

We learn from the Āvasyaka Niryukti that the town was the birth place of the thirteenth Tīrthankara, Vimalanātha.[112] It was hallowed by his five auspicious incidents in the life of the Tīrthankara. On account of the happening of these incidents namely, the descent, the nativity, the coronation, the initiation and the Jinahood, the place became famous as Pañchakalyāṇaka.[113] The town also finds mention in the Yognītantra.[114] It was included among the ten metropolises of India.[115] Uvāsagaḍadasāo mentions that Kampillapura

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was visited by Mahāvīra.[116] Pāṇinī has also referred to it as a City of India.[117]

The Mahābhārata,[118] the Vāiya Sūya, [119] and the Vividhatīrthakalpa[120] locate the town on the bank of the river Gaṅgā. Cunningham identifies Kāmpilya with the modern Kampil on the old bank of Gaṅgā in district Farrukhabad.[121] Nando Lal Dey and other scholars have followed the identification of Cunningham.[122]

On the north-western side of the town is a big mound. It is locally known as 'Drupada Koṭa'. The mound covers an extensive area and is approximately 8 to 10 metres in height. Its southern and eastern sides are covered by the present settlement. The western portion has suffered considerable erosion by the river Gaṇgā. The entire mound is under cultivation. Because of this, the mound has become almost flat. The main yield of the mound is Painted Grey ware, N.B.P. ware and Medieval glazed ware.[123] An incised terracotta disc has also been obtained from the site.[124]

During the course of exploration, the author noticed some architectural pieces assignable to 8th-10th centuries A.D. They are in the form of doorjambs, doorlintels, etc. One broken Navagraha panel assignable to 8th-9th centuries A.D. deserves special mention. A stone sculpture of eight armed dancing Gaṇeśo of 9th-10th centuries A.D. has been preserved in the State Museum Lucknow.[125]

Kanauj

The present town of Kanauj (lat. 27° 3′ N and long 79° 59′ E) stands on the right bank of river Kālīnadī, at a distance of 53 Kms. south-west of Fatehgarh and 80 Kms. north of Kanpur. The town is connected by the metalled approach roads with the Grand Trunk Road at Sarai Mirā and at Makrandanagar.

The town derives its name from the Sanskrit word Kānyakubja and its varients are Kanyākubja or Kanyakubja.[126] These names have been frequently referred to in ancient literature.[127] The Buddhist text Mahāvastu gives the name as Kaṇyakubja,[128] and Kaṇakubja.[129] The Kumārpālacharita mentions it as Kaṇṇaujja.[130] In the Vinaya Piṭaka,[131] and the Karpūramañjari,[132] the name is referred to as Kannakujja and Kaṇṇkujja respectively. According to the Dīpavaṁsa,[133] the Mahāvaṁsa,[134] and the Vaṁsatthapakāsinī,[135] the town was known as Kaṇṇagochchha and Kaṇṇagotta. The Parmāla Rāso[136] and the Prithvīrājarāso[137] call it Kanawaja or Kanawajja. Other names of the town are Mahodaya,[138] Gādhipur,[139]

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Kuśasthala,[140] Kuśa, etc.[141] According to the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Mahodaya was also the name of a tank near Kānyakubja.[142] The Abhidhānachintāmaṇi states that the city was called Gādhipura or Gādhinagara after the name of the King Gādhi.[143] The Varāha Purāṇa calls it Mahāgṛihodaya.[144] The Prabandhachintāmaṇi mentions Kalyāṇakaṭaka as the capital of Kānyakubjadeśa.[145]

According to the Padma Purāṇa, it was one of the twelve Vaiṣṇava Tīrthas.[146] The Skanda Purāṇa mentions the town as one of the holy places to the Sun God.[147] The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa narrates that a bath in the holy river Gaṅgā at Kanauj during the month of Kārtika was very meritorious.[148] The Skand Purāṇa states that any person living here during Mārgaśīrṣa acquires the heaven.[149]

The Greek writer Ptolemy who visitedt he country in the 2nd century A.D. mentions the town as Kanagoza or Kanogiza.[150] According to Dr. R.S. Tripathi, "though it is tempting to identify the one on the ground of affinity in sound to Kānyakubja, and the other because it is more correctly placed, we have no positive evidence to show that these names represent Kanauj.[151] On the other hand, Cunningham,[152] Whalley Paul,[153] Law,[154] Dr. Upadhyaya,[155] and Dr. R.K. Dikshit[156] support the identification.

The Chinese pilgrim Fahien, who visited the town in the 5th century A.D., spelt the name as Ka-nao-yi or Konoyi.[157] Hiuen-Tsang in the 7th century A.D. pronounces the name of the town as Ka-no-ku-she.[158] The pilgrim also mentions Kusumapura as the name of the city.[159] Alberuni pronounces the name as Kanoj.[160] The medieval Muslim historians transliterate the name as Qannuj.[161]

The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa[162] and the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa[163] place Kanauj in the Pañchāla country in the territory of Madhyadeśa. Alberuni narrates that the 'country all around Kanauj' is called Madhyadeśa or Āryāvarta.[164] The Chinese pilgrim Fahien gives the distance between Sankissā and Kanauj as 7 Yojanas.[165] According to Hieun-Tsang Kanauj was situated at a distance of 200 li (53 or 54 Kms.) north-west from Sankissā.[166] But the present location of Sankissā is south-east of Kanauj and not north-west. The correction was proposed by Cunningham that Kanauj is situated to the south-east of Sankissā.[167] Thomas Watters has also accepted this location.[168] According to Hiuen-Tsang the town measured 20 li (5.6 Kms.) in length and 4 or 5 li (1 Km.) in breadth.[169] The extent of the province of Kanauj was 4000 li

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(1067 Kms.) in periphery.[170] The Rājataraṅgiṇī mentions that the territory of Kānyakubja extended from the river Yamunā to the Kālikā.[171] Kālikā has been identified by Dr. R.K. Dikshit with the Kālinadī.[172] The Prithvīrāja Rāso gives the extent of the town as 5 Yojanas.[173] The Skanda Purāṇa[174] and the Prabandhachintāmaṇi[175] state that it contained thirty six lakh villages.

The Vinaya Piṭaka preserves an account of the visit of the Buddha to Kanauj while he was on his way from Verañjā to Varanasi.[176] In the 7th century A.D. Hiuen-Tsang found the town strongly defended with lofty structures every where.[177] There were beautiful gardens and tanks of clear water and fruits and flowers were abundant.[178] He further states that "the people had a refined appearance and were dressed in glossy silk attire, they were given to learning and art, and were clear and suggestive in discourses. They were equally divided between orthodoxy and heterodoxy".[179]

The Town has been frequently referred to in the Inscriptions. The fragmentary Mauryan inscription from Mathurā mentions the name of the city as Kānyakubja.[180] B.C. Law thinks that there is a reference to Kusumapura in the Allahabad posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta and he identifies it with Kanauj.[181] But this identification does not appear to be correct. In the Cambay plate of Govind IV, the Rāṣṭrakūta ruler, it was referred to as Mahodaya and Kuśasṭhala.[182] The Bārā copper plate inscription of Bhoja states that during the 9th century A.D., both the names Mahodaya and Kānyakubja were in use. The former indicated a *Skandhāvāra* and the later was applied for *Bhukti*.[183] It was just like Delhi in modern times being a capital of India and also a state. The town is referred to as Gotīrtha in the Pehova inscription.[184] The Gāhadavāla ruler Chandradeva has been mentioned as the protector of Kuśika.[185] The Lucknow Museum Copper plate inscription of Jayachandra V.S. 1237 (1180 A.D.) calls Gādhipur and Kuśika as the names of the city. The latter is referred to as a Tīrtha.[186]

The modern town of Kanauj occupies the northern portion of the old city. It includes the *Kilā* or citadel and occupies the highest level. The boundaries are: on the north the shrine of Haji Harmayan, on the south-west by tomb of Taj Baj and the Masjid and on the south-east the tomb of Makhdum Jahania. The Kilā mound is inhabited and some part of it is under cultivation. The ancient sites of two gates are indicated; the first near the shrine of Haji Harma-

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yan and the second the Kshema Kali Burj. As these two gates lead towards the river side, Cunningham suggested the probability of the third gate towards the land side just close to the Ajaya Pāla temple.[187] According to the local tradition the ancient city extended from the shrine of Haji Harmayan on the north near Rājghāt to the Mira Sarai to the south, a distance of about 5 Kms. To the west, it is said to have reached Kanpatiyāpur and Makrandnagar and on the east the boundary was extended to the old bed of the rivers Gaṅgā and Kālīnadī. The city is roughly triangular in shape. The maximum length of the town is 5 Kms. with a breadth of 1.5 Kms.

The Town stands on the old cliff formed by the Kālīnadī and the Gaṅgā, which has been intercepted by a number of ravines descending to the old river bed. To the north-east, the cliff rises to a height of about 20 metres. According to Cunningham, "The situation is a commanding one; and before the use of cannon the height alone must have made Kanauj a strong and important position."[188]

The main mound has yielded Painted Grey ware, red and black slipped ware, N.B.P. and red ware.[189] The designs in the Painted Grey ware are vertical and oblique lines on the outer surface. The shapes are in the form of dishes and bowls. N.B.P. ware potsherds comprise of various shades like black steel, blue silvery, golden and pinkish red. The shapes are dishes and stoppers. Thick red and ash colour pottery was also noticed by the author during the course of exploration on Shikhana and Club Ghar mounds.

The terracotta figures include human and animal figures, dices, potters stamps, sealing, toys, etc. Some of the terracotta figurines bearing black polish are earlier and are assignable to 3rd century B.C. They include male and female figures. Post-Śuṅga terracotta figurines also are reported from the site.[190] A sealing from the town, recently acquired by the Allahabad Museum, bears the device of a Vase on the pedestal flanked by a Śaṅkha on either side and the legend *Balādhikaraṇaṁ* in the Gupta Brāhmī Characters.[191]

The sculptural collection from the various mounds of Kanauj and the area around are assignable to a period between 5th and 12th centuries A.D. Among the stone images, mention may be made of Śiva-Pārvatī (*Kalyāṇasundara*), Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Kārtikeya, Indra, Sūrya, Ekmukha and Chaturmukha Śivaliṇga, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Ādivarāha, Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra,

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etc.[192] Several architectural pieces in the form of doorjambs, lintels, etc. have also been found. A base of circular pillar with an inscription of two lines is lying under a tree by the side of Ajaya Pāla temple.

The earliest coins from Kanauj are silver punch-marked coins. They are followed by the Kushāṇa coins. One silver Kshatrapa coin has recently been obtained. The coins of a Mathurā ruler named Vīrasena have also been reported.[193] The peacock type silver coin of Kumargupta has been recently found in Kanauj. The number of Indo-Sassanian coins and those of Mihira Bhoja are quite numerous. The coins of Mihira Bhoja are of two types: Sassanian type, having legend *Ādivarāha* on the obverse and the symbol of fire worship on the reverse. The second are of the Varāha type, bearing the figure of Varāha on the obverse and legend *Śrīmad-Ādivarāha* on the reverse. The later type of coins are made of silver or mixed silver. One gold coin of King Govind Chandra of the Gāhadavāla dynasty has been recently discovered at the site. The obverse of the coin bears the legend *Śrīmad Govind Deva* written in three lines. On the reverse we find the figure of seated goddess Lakṣmī.[194] The site has also yielded the coins of Chedi ruler Gāṅgeyadeva.[195]

The large number of architectural fragments and beautifully carved images found in and around Kanauj clearly indicate that there were a number of Brahmanical temples constructed here during the period between 5th and 12th centuries A.D. No definite site of Buddhist Stupa and monastery has, however, been located in Kanuaj or nearby. Some Jaina Temples were constructed in the area during the early Medieval period. This is attested to by some images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras.

Kanpatiyāpur

The village Kanpatiyāpur is located to the west of Kanauj at a distance of 6 Kms. The village has a mound. It is covered with brickbats and potsherds. The site is also noted for stone sculptures of the early Medieval period. These are housed in a local temple of Murārī Devī. Mention may be made of a tarso of Sūrya, and the statues of Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa. One stone image of Jaina Tīrthaṅkar Mahāvīra, bearing an inscription on the pedestal dated Saṁvat 1109 (1052 A.D.) has also been obtained. It is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum Kanauj.

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Karchalipur

The village is located east of Ghatampur tahsil, at a distance of 20 Kms. on the river Rind. The village has a big mound. It has yielded N.B.P. ware, black polished ware, crude type of grey ware, black and red and glazed ware.[196] In the temple of Aleśvara Mahādeva, a number of early medieval stone sculptures and architectural pieces have been used in the structure. A stone lintel bears a short inscription in the nāgarī characters and is dated Saṁvat 1041 (984 A.D.).[197]

Khairnagar

The village Khairnagar (lat 26° 6′ N and long 79° 50′ E) stands to the south of Fatehgarh at a distance of 64 Kms. and 9 Kms. north-west of Jankhaṭ. It has a brick fort on an old Khera, built by a Kachhwaha Rajput, Ratan Singh.[198]

Kumbhī

The village Kumbhi is located on the bank of river Sengar at a distance of 6 Kms. to the south-west of Akbarpur tahsil, district Kanpur (D). The village has a mound called Lakarpur.[199]

Kurain

The village Kurain (lat 26° 5′ N and 80° 13′ E) stands at a distance of 12 Kms. to the south-east of Ghatampur town. The site has a big mound having a height of 5 to 6 metres. The main yield of the mound is N.B.P. ware, black polished ware, red slipped, red washed and coarse ware.[200] During my survey, several terracotta female figurines were noticed on the mound. The site is also noticed for the sculptural wealth assignable to 9th-10th centuries A.D. Mention may be made of the images of Mahiṣasuramardinī, Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu and Navagraha panel.[201] There are several architectural pieces in the form of lintels, doorjambs, miniature temples, etc. A brick temple of 14th century A.D. has also been discovered in the village.[202] The temple is locally known as 'Mahādeva Bābā'.

Kursendā

The village Kursendā stands at a distance of 6 Kms. south-west of Ghatampur town. There is an ancient mound at the site. It covers an area of about 60 metres with an approximate height of 3 to 4 metres. The mound has yielded Medieval potsherds. An early

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Medieval stone sculpture of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, along with other fragmentary pieces, has been noticed.

Kurthā

The village Kurthā is situated to the east of Bhītargaon at a distance of 5 Kms. The site is noted for a brick temple of 10th century A.D.[203] Three fourth portion of the temple has now fallen down. The remaining portion shows the use of moulded baked bricks in its construction. The pilasters on the exterior walls bear designs of vase and foliage.

Kutlupur

The village Kutlupur is located to the west of Kanauj at a distance of 1.5 Kms. Two stone sculptures representing the Virāta Svarūpa of Viṣṇu of 8th-9th century A.D. were seen in the local temple of Rāma-Lakṣamaṇa by the author during the course of his survey.

Lālābhagat

The village Lālā Bhagat (lat. 26° 44′ N and long 79° 51′ E) stands at a distance of 26 Kms. south-west of Bilhaur and 23 Kms. north-west of Sheoli. The village is situated in the extreme north of Derapur tahsil of Kanpur district (D). According to the local tradition, the name of the village Lālābhagat is after a Thakur called Lālā, who was a staunch devotee and was popularly called Lālābhagat. The site has an extensive mound. Its four corners are at a height. The other parts are sloping on all sides. It is covered with brick-bats. The mound is noted for dull red and red ware. The first one represents vases and the second type bowls. One terracotta female figure was found by the author during the course of exploration. The bricks found on the surface measure $45 \times 25 \times 3.5$ cms.

The site is known for one red sand stone pillar of the Kushāṇa period. At present the pillar is placed in a domed chamber known as 'Kālikādevī' on the toe of the mound. The shaft is octogonal with a square base. It measures 1.97 metres in height. The pillar contains several iconographical representations vertically. The carving shows high workmanship of the Kushāṇa period. The first panel from the top depicts a couple of flying swans with a cylindrical box-like object. Just below, the sun-God is driving a chariot of four horses flanked by two female attendants. He is followed by three

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ladies in a rank standing at ease. The next panel depicts thirteen nude dwarfs. Immediately below it is carved a fan-tailed peacock in the dancing posture. Further down is seen an elephant walking on lotuses. The lowest panel depicts a pilaster surmounted by a cock (*Kukkuṭadhvaja*). Opposite to it a figure of Gaja Lakṣmī has been carved. On either side two elephants are shown pouring water by vessels held in their trunks.[204] Kukkutadhvaja has been noticed on some coins of the Yaudheyas.[205]

On the left of the carved portion is incised a fragmentary inscription in Brāhmī characters. It has been read by Sri Prayaga Dayal as 'Kumār V (i) ra'.[206] Prof. Bajpai feels that there might have been a shrine of Kārtikeya who is also called Kumār on the Kushāṇa coins of Huvishka and also in literary texts. According to him the inscription seems to refer to the popular worship of Kārtikeya at the site.

The cock-capital has been placed outside the temple. Its height and length are 70 and 90 cms. respectively. One copper coin of Mathurā Kshatrapa Ṣoḍāsa has been obtained from the mound.[207]

Magarsā

The village is situated to the south-west of Kanpur district (N), at a distance of 15 Kms. The village has two mounds. One mound has remains of an old fort. Another one in the village contains early Medieval images of Viṣṇu and Śiva.[208] A large image of Sūrya has been reported from the site.[209]

Makanpur

The village Makanpur stands on the right bank of river Isan at a distance of 3 Kms. from the boundary of Farrukhabad district. It is 13 Kms. north-west from Bilhaur. A few stone sculptures were seen by author during the course of exploration in the local Kherapati temple assignable to 10th-11th centuries A.D. Mention may be made of an image of Viṣṇu. Other architectural pieces are in the form of doorjambs, Navagraha panels, etc.

Marahā

The village Marahā is located at a distance of 9 Kms. west of Jankhaṭ. The side is noted for fragmentary sculptures of the Gupta period.

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Matai Kisānpur

The village is situated to the south-west of Bārā at a distance of 8 Kms. on the Kalpi Road. It has a mound which has yielded N.B.P. ware.[210]

Muhamadabad

The village is located on the main road between Farrukhabad and Mainpuri at a distance of 19 Kms. south-west of Fatehgarh. The first Nawab of Farrukhabad erected a castle on the old mound, called 'Kal-Kā-Khera'. The Chandellas made it the base of their operation.[211]

Mūsānagar

The town Mūsānagar (lat. 26° 10′ N and 79° 50′ E) stands in the extreme south-east of the tahsil Bhognipur in Kanpur district (D) at a distance of 45 Kms. from Kanpur City, on the left bank of river Yamunā. Through it runs the old Mughal Road. The village has a mound which has yielded a polished stone axe, N.B.P. ware and red coarse ware.[212] A good number of stone sculptures and fragmentary architectural pieces assignable between 2nd century B.C. and 10th century A.D. are preserved in the Museum of Muktādevī temple. The early pieces include railing pillars, cross bars and carved panels representing mythical stories.[213] A railing pillar bears the figures of Śiva-Pārvatī.[214] The sculptures assignable from 8th to 10th centuries A.D. include Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, Garuḍa, Varāha and Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras.[215] A navagraha panel was noticed by the author during the course of exploration. Other fragments are in the form of doorjambs, lintel, etc.

An important inscribed brick tablet of Ist century B.C. has been obtained from the site.[216] The brick is preserved in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi. This is the earliest inscribed brick found in this region recording the performance of an Aśvamedha sacrifice by a King named Devamitra. This ruler can be identified with the ruler of the same name known from the coins of Kauśāmbī.[217]

Narwal

The village Narwal (lat 26° 14′ N and long 80° 26′ E) stands at a distance of 29 Kms. south of Kanpur City and 10 Kms. from Sirsaul Station on N.R. The National Museum, New Delhi preserves a very artistic terracotta head of the Gupta period from this site.

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It represents the composite form of Śiva and Pārvatī (*Ardhanarīśvara*).[218]

Nemaniakhera

The village is situated to the south-east of Ghatampur town at a distance of 12 Kms. on the Mughal Road leading to Korajahanabad. The village is also called Nebiyakhera. The site is noted for a temple of 10th century A.D.[219] Structurally, the temple represents a developed phase of the brick architecture. It is about 10 metres high. It contains a square cella and an oblong passage which connects the main cella. The plan of the temple is octagonal. The interior walls are plain but the exterior only bears decorative arches. The Śikhara of the temple, slightly damaged, is decked with ornamental arches having angle āmalakas. The cella of the temple contains a stone Śiva liṅga. In front of the liṅga, loose pieces of sculptured panels representing Brahmā and Śiva are lying. The entrance contains a doorlintel which bears a relief of Gajalakṣmī. Above it is a Navagraha panel. One doorjamb represents the figures of goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā. These sculptures are assignable to 9th-11th centuries A.D.

The village has a small mound. It has yielded red slipped and coarse ware. One terracotta female head bearing cellular designs has also been noticed by the author during the course of survey.

Paḍri-Lālpur

The twin villages (lat. 26° 13′ N and long 80° 14′ E) stands at a distance of 5 Kms. to the north-west of Bhītargaon and 23 Kms. south of Kanpur City on the bank of river Rind. There is a mound at the site which covers an area of about 215 metres with the height of about 6 to 7 metres from the surrounding level. The ceramics collected from the mound include N.B.P. ware, red slipped, red coarse and glazed ware.[220] The author found a few pieces of plain grey ware during the course of exploration.

Pahewā

The village Pahewā stands at a distance of 9 Kms. to the east of Ghatampur town. The site is noted for the stone sculptural wealth assignable from 9th to 11th centuries A.D. Mention may be made of the image of Viṣṇu, Umā-Maheśwara, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, head of Súrya, mutilated figure of Narsiṁha and a Śiva head.[221]

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Pakhna-Bihār

The twin villages (lat. 27° 18′ N and 79° 20′ E) are situated at a distance of 10 Kms. east of Sanskissā Basantpur and at a distance of 1.5 Kms. from the Bihār Station of Northern Railway. The site of Bihār has an extensive mound. Brickbats and potsherds are scattered all over it. The mound is about 300 to 325 metres in length from north to south and about 215 metres in breadth. The present village stands on the mound. The southern portion of the mound is higher than the rest. Cunningham identifies this part of the mound with the great monastery described by Hiuen-Tsang.[222]

The Chinese pilgrim visited the site and described the local monastery in the following words: "It is of fine proportion and perfect workmanship. Its representations of Buddhist worthies were in the highest style of ornament."[223] He further states that it accommodated some hundreds of brethren, all of the Sammatiya school, and besides it their lay dependants some myriads in number. Within the enclosing wall of the monastery were triple stairs of precious substances in a row south to north and sloping down to east.[224] He locates this monastery at a distance of 20 li (about 6 Kms.) east of Sankissā.[225]

The site has yielded one fragmentary inscription of Indo-Sythian period.[226] A large number of terracotta inscribed sealings bearing the Buddhist creed have been obtained. On the basis of palaeography these can be assigned to a period between the Ist and 11th centuries A.D. Mention may be made of one clay sealing showing the famous triple flight of steps by which Buddha was said to have descended from the *Trayastriṁśa* heaven accompanied by the gods Brahmā and Indra. In the middle of the sealing are shown three flights of steps leading down from a platform surrounded by a Buddhist railing. Over each flight of steps there is a single letter of the Gupta character. Cunningham has read, to the left *Bra* for Brahmā, in the middle *Bu* for Buddha and on the right *Sa* for Śakra.[227] Other sealings mention the name of Vasunanda, Varāhadatta, etc. in the Gupta Brāhmī Characters.[228] One large oblong seal bears the legend Aṣṭavriddha.[229] The word Aṣṭavriddha probably represents eight old Buddhist disciples or it may also represent the personal name Aṣṭavriddha. A sealing bearing the legend Devarāmasaṁghasa has also been obtained.[230] The sealing bearing the legend Devarāmasaṁghasa apparently belonged to the Buddhist monastery designated after Devarāma. A terracotta figurine showing *Suka-*

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Kridā has also been reported.[231]

A fine Buddhist sculpture has been reported from Pakhnā. It contains in high relief several figures of Bodhisattvas with miniature figure of Buddha on the top in the *abhayamudrā*. A vidyadhara is flying with a garland in the upper left corner. The pedestal bears three attendant figures. The haloed figures of Bodhisattvas stand on lotus seats. They wear fine head-dresses, jewellery and garlands. The pedestal contains the Buddhist creed incised in the Brāhmī characters of 10th century A.D.[232]

Pāras

The village Pāras is situated at a distance of 8 Kms. south-east of Ghatampur town. It is on the road from Bhadeona to Bārīpāl at a short distance south of its junction with the Mughal Road. A few early Medieval fragmentary stone sculptures were noticed during the course of exploration.

Paraulī

The village Paraulī is located at a distance of 4 Kms. north of Bhītargaon, on the right bank of river Rind. The village is noted for a brick temple of 10th-11th century A.D. At present the temple has fallen and does not provide any clue to the architectural details. The bricks are heaped over the plinth of the temple. The bricks are well baked and bear deep reliefs showing various designs. When Cunningham visited the site the half portion of the temple was in a good state of preservation. He describes that in plan it was a polygon of sixteen sides and was externally standing on a plinth with a circular chamber.[233] The temple contains a stone linga, locally called 'Mahādevabābā'.

Rādhan

The village Rādhan is situated at a distance of 4 Kms. north-east of Uttarīpurā in the Bilhaur tahsil, on the right bank of the river Gaṅgā. The village has an extensive mound. The author noticed N.B.P. ware, black polished and red ware during the course of his exploration. The mound is under cultivation. There is also a settlement on the western slope of the mound. A few stone sculptures were seen housed in a modern temple towards the eastern side of the mound assignable from 8th to 10th centuries A.D.

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Rahnas

The village is situated at a distance of 10 Kms. north-east of Narwal and 8 Kms. north-east of Maharajpur in district Kanpur (N). The site contains remains of a fort locally known as Garhi. A few stone sculptures of the early Medieval period have been reported from the village. Mention may be made of Varāha, head of Śiva and Viṣṇu.[234] One pedestal of a broken image bears an inscription in Devanāgarī characters. The inscription mentions the name of the village as 'Rahanātha' and bears the date Saṁvat 1320 (1263 A.D.).[235]

Rajgir

The village Rajgir is located at a distance of 5 Kms. south-east of Kanauj on the right bank of Kālīnadī. The site has a mound. Brick-bats and potsherds were seen scattered all over the mound which testify to its ancient occupation.

Ramel

The village is situated at a distance of 2 Kms. on left bank of River Non (I), south of Biṭhūr. A few fragmentary sculptures assignable to 8th-10th centuries A.D. were seen during the course of exploration.

Rār

The village Rār is 16 Kms. south of Bhītargaon and 11 Kms. south-east of Ghatampur town. The site is noted for a brick temple. Cunningham noticed two temples in the village.[236] The brick temple is decorated in the same style as that of Paraulī and perhaps belongs to the same period (10th-11th centuries A.D.).

Rasdhān

The village is located at a distance of 13 Kms. from Akbarpur. The site contains a fort mound surrounded by a ditch filled with water. The mound is covered with brickbats and potsherds. A few fragmentary architectural pieces assignable to 8th-11th centuries A.D. were noticed in the Durgādevī temple. Mention may be made of a doorjamb with the figure of Varāha.

Salempur

The village Salempur is located at a distance of 4 Kms. south-

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east of Kanauj. The site is noted for sculptural wealth assignable between 8th and 11th centuries A.D. Mention may be made of a stone sculpture of Sūrya. There are several architectural fragments in the form of doorjambs, lintel, broken Navagraha panels, etc.

Sambhua

The village Sambhua is situated at a distance of 8 Kms., west of Bhītargaon. The village is noted for an early Medieval brick temple.[237] The temple is thickly covered with plaster. Where the plaster has fallen, some flowered designs are visible. The inner chamber is made of carved stone.

Sankissā Basantpur

Sankissā Basantpur (ancient Saṁkāśya, Pali Saṅkassa) stands (lat. 27° 20′ N and long 79° 20′ E) on the left bank of Kālīnadī at a distance of 37 Kms. west of Fatehgarh. Sankissā is reached from the small station of Bihār on the Shikohabad-Farrukhabad branch line of the Northern Railway. The distance from Bihār to Sankissā Basantpur is 10 Kms. and it is the most covenient route to reach this important site.

Pāṇinī in his Aṣṭādhyāyī mentions the location of the town on the bank of the river Ikṣumatī.[238] This river has been identified with Kālīnadī. In the Rāmāyaṇa mention is made of a King Sīradhvaja Janaka, the father of Sīta and the ruler of Mithilā. His contemporary ruler of Saṅkāśya was Sudhanvā. There ensued a war of supremacy between the two ruling powers. In the conflict Sudhanvā was overpowered and Sīradhvaja Janaka installed his younger brother Kuśadhvaja as the ruler of Saṅkāśya.[239]

The Chinese pilgrim Fahien mentions the name of the town as Kapitha or Saṅkasa.[240] He says: "The country is productive and the people are flourishing and happy beyond compare."[241] Hiuen-Tsang pronounces the name as Ka-pi-ta (Kapitha).[242] The Madhuban Copper plate inscription of Harshavardhana calls it Kapithakā.[243]

Buddha visited Sankissā while on his way from Verañjā to Varanasi.[244] We learn from the Buddhist work Theragāthā that Sthavira Suhemanta received sermons from Gautam Buddha at this town.[245] In the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali the town is said to be four Yojanas from Govidhumaṭ.[246] The latter has been identified with Kudarkoṭa in Bidhuna tahsil, district Etawah.[247] Sankissā was situated between Atranjikhera and Kanauj, being at a distance of 200 li (53-54 Kms.)

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from each town.[248] Fahien gives the distance of Kanauj from Sankissā as 7 Yojanas.[249] The ancient town of Sankissā was connected with Mathurā by a road. The distance between the two towns was 18 Yojanas.[250] Hiuen-Tsang gives the extent of the country as 2,000 li (about 533 Kms.).[251] According to him the extent of the capital was 20 li (5.4 Kms.).[252]

Cunningham who discovered the site in 1842 locates Sankissā or Sankissā Basantpur in district Farrukhabad of Uttar Pradesh.[253] But Bhikshu Dharma Rakshit places Sankissā in Etah district of Uttar Pradesh.[254] This location is not correct. Sankissā or Sankissā Basantpur is situated in Farrukhabad district. Scholars follow the identification of Cunningham.[255]

The site is noted for a big mound about 12 metres high from the surrounding level. The present village of Sankissā Basantpur is situated on this mound. It is 456 metres in length from west to east and 304 metres in breadth. The mound is locally called *Kilā*. The north and west faces of the mound are steep, but on the east and south the slope is easier. At a distance of 486 metres to the south of the fort mound is another small mound of solid brick-work surmounted by a temple of Bisārī Devī. Cunningham supposes that this temple occupies the site of the three stair-cases mentioned by Fahien.[256]

To the east of the village at a distance of about one Km. is a place called Chaukhandī. The land to the right side of Chaukhandī is known as 'Panthāwalī'. To its south is the site called 'Nīvī-Kā-Koṭ'. Cunningham suggests the probability of some large enclosed building like a Buddhist monastery at this site.[257] The ancient earthen ramparts of the village even seen now from a periphery of about 5.5 Kms. and have the shape of a dodecagon.

During the course of exploration the author noticed on the main mound, N.B.P. ware, black polished and red ware. The site has also yielded a good number of terracotta objects. A complete female clay figure was discovered by Cunningham, typically Śuṅga in style and dress. The lady holds a stalked lotus flower in her right hand, while the left rests on her hip.[258] Other clay figures found are: a figure in *līlā-Kamala* posture, two figures of Gajalaksmī and one of a male figure playing on harp.[259] A large number of beautiful figures of clay elephants have also been obtained.[260] One brick tablet of 1st century A.D. representing an amorous pair has been reported.[261] A few Mātrikā figures assignable to the Kushāṇa period were seen by the author in the personal collection of Sri Chandrika

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Prasad Dikshit.

The site has yielded a rich crop of seals and sealings. Cunningham discovered a large inscribed seal of soapstone. It bears the legend *Utarasenasa* (i.e. Utarasena) with a triangular symbol above and *Swastika* below.[262] A clay seal in the Kushāṇa Brāhmī characters found during the excavations at Sankissā bears the legend *Ayana Haimavatana* (Skt. Āryāṇam Himavatanāṁ). This means 'the seal of Venerable Himavatas'.[263] The Himavatas were Hīnyāna Buddhist.[264] During the time of Kushāṇa monarch Kanishka I and his successors, the Mahāyāna cult was predominant, at several Buddhist centres of the north. The discovery of the above seal may indicate that the followers of the Hīnayāna cult also paid visits to the sacred place of Sankissā.

Numerous clay sealings of the Gupta period bearing the names Bhadrāksha, Ramyāksha and Śvetabhadra have also been obtained.[265] The seals of the first two types bear the figure of Śiva or his emblems, the bull and the trident. The third type bears a flying figure (probably Garuḍa) holding a serpent in the left hand.[266] Dr. K.K. Thaplyal opines that it is not unlikely that the persons who issued the above mentioned seals were feudatories of the imperial Guptas.[267] Hirananda Shastri considers that Śvetabhadra of the seals might have been a descendant of the house to which Bhāgabhadra of the Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription belonged.[268] A seal of the Gupta period reported from the excavations at Sankissā bears the legend '*Trivikrama*' and an effigy of a person seated on a couch, which Shastri takes to be that of a King.[269] A sealing preserved in the Allahabad Museum bears a *Triśula*, a *Śaṅkha* and the legend Indramitra.[270] Dr. K.K. Thaplyal takes the legend to refer to the god Indra.[271] But the identification of Dr. Thaplyal does not seem to be correct. To me it appears that Indramitra of the sealing was the Pañchāla ruler of Ahichchhatrā of that name, who ruled about the 3rd century A.D.[272] The coins of this ruler have been found in and around Ahichchhatrā in large numbers. A terracotta tablet bearing human bust with seven hoods attached to the head have also been obtained from the site.[273]

The site is known for the elephant capital of the Aśokan period. The capital has been placed near the Birsārī Devī mound. The base of the cāpital is of inverted lotus type, surmounted by an abacus with the honey suckle scroll as appears on the Allahabad pillar. Above the pillar is a well modelled figure of an elephant. The trunk

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and tail of the animal are broken. An appreciable effort has been made in the representation of the muscles and of the volume of live-flesh. The total height of the capital is 2.7 metres. During the course of survey a few fragmentary stone sculptures and other art-relics assignable from the 1st century B.C. to the 10th century A.D. have been noticed. Mention may be made of Railing pillars, a torso of Viṣṇu and Śiva liṅga.

The mounds of Sankissā Basantpur have yielded a large number of Punch-marked coins. They are both of silver and copper.[274] A coin of lead, bearing the legend Gomitasa in Brāhmī characters of 2nd century B.C., has been obtained during excavations.[275] This Gomitra may be identified with Gomitra I of the Mitra dynasty of Mathurā who was the ruling monarch during 2nd century B.C.[276] Some coins of the Pañchāla rulers have also been reported from the site.[277] A good number of Kshatrapa coins of Mathurā rulers namely Hagāmaśa, Rājuvula, Vima Kadphises, Kanishka I, Huvishka and Vasudeva have been obtained.[278] They are followed by the Indo-Sassanian type coins of the Pratīhāra ruler Mihira Bhoja bearing the figure of Varāha on the obverse and the legend Śrīmad-Ādivarāha on the reverse.[279]

A brick inscription in the Aśokan Brāhmī characters has been found in the village. It is a record of a votive offering from a sandal-wood merchant named Kudiña.[280] Another brick inscription in Brāhmī characters of 2nd century B.C. obtained from the site refers to the donation made by one Jeṭha, son of Bhatika and Bhārgavī.[281] The language of the inscription is Prakrit. The brick measures $30 \times 20 \times 7$ cms. In a rectangular incuse (17×5 cms.), there is an inscription in two lines which reads as follows:

'Bhadasamasa Savajīvaloke Puṭhagorathasa
Bhaṭkaputsa Jeṭhasa Bhagaviputasa.'

The brick is preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow.[282]

Sanon

The village Sanon stands 3 Kms. south-east of Sachandi in Kanpur district (N). There is an oval-shaped mound in the village. The main yield of the mound is N.B.P. ware, black polished and red coarse ware.[283]

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Saurikh

The village Saurikh is located at a distance of 40 Kms. south-east of Fatehgarh. The road from Fatehgarh to Etawah passes through Saurikh and other road connects it with Tirwa. The village contains the remains of a castle.[284]

Sen-Pachimpur

The village stands at a distance of 18 Kms. to the south of Kanpur City. It has a mound which has yielded crude type of grey ware, red coarse and glazed ware.[285] Brickbats and potsherds are scattered all over the mound. Locally it is called Garhi. A few fragmentary stone sculptures assignable from the 8th to 11th centuries A.D. were reported from the site. Mention may be made of Viṣṇu's head, Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, etc.[286] There are several architectural pieces in the form of doorjambs, lintel, etc.

Sheolī

The village Sheolī is situated at a distance of 16 Kms. to the south-east of Sheorajpur and 35 Kms. from Kanpur City. There are two mounds in the village. The first one is located behind the Police Station. The traces of bastions are still seen which point out to the existence of a fort there. The gate of the fort appears to be on the eastern side. Another extensive mound is located towards the south-west of the settlement on the road leading to Rura. The road divides the mound in two parts. During the course of exploration, the author noticed red ware and a terracotta animal figurine.

Sheorajpur

The village (lat. 26° 41′ N and long 80° 9′ E) stands on the Grand Trunk Road at a distance of 33 Kms. north-west of Kanpur City. Parallel to the road runs the N.E. Railway, with a station named Barrajpur close to the village. The village is said to have been founded by King Sheorajdeva in 1336 A.D.[287] The earliest evidence obtained from the site is that of the archaic copper implements.[288] They are three in number and represent the shapes of anthropomorphic figures. The site contains the remains of a fort of Chandella period.[289]

Sāsaimaua

The Chhatarpur copper plate inscription of Govindchandadeva

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dated Vikram Saṁvat 1177 (1120 A.D.) records the grant of a village Sāsaimaua.[290] Daya Ram Sahani identifies this village name with Sīsāmau on the basis of the resemblance of names. Sīsāmau now forms the central part of the Kanpur City. Sahani's identification appears to be correct. Sīsāmau is now a locality of Kanpur City, situated at a distance of one Km. north side of the Grand Trunk Road.

Thātia

The village Thātia is located at a distance of 9 Kms. to the north-east or Jankhaṭ in the Kanauj tahsil. The site contains a fort mound which is associated to some Baghel Rajput.[291]

Ujjhān

The village Ujjhān stands at a distance of 15 Kms. west of Sheolī on the left bank of the river Rind. There is an extensive oval-shaped mound in the village. The site is reported for N.B.P. ware.[292] During the course of exploration the author noticed black polished, red and glazed ware.

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54. *I.A.R.*, 1965-66, P. 88.

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55. *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 4, P. 3 .
56. *I.A.R.*, 1967-68, P. 47.
57. *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 4, P. 37.
58. *I.A.R.*, 1968-69, P. 39.
59. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, P. 224-26.
60. Fuhrer, *Ibid.*, P. 77.
61. *Ibid.*, P. 77.
62. *I.A.R.*, 1965-66, PP. 86-87.
63. *Ibid.*, P. 87.
64. *Ibid.*, P. 87.
65. *Ibid.*, P. 87.
66. *Ibid.*, P. 87.
67. *Ibid.*, P. 87.
68. *Gangetic Valley Terracotta Art*, P. 80.
69. Bajpai, *I.N.S.*, PP. 155-58.
70. Fuhrer, *Ibid.*, P. 78.
71. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXIV, P. 232 ff, *B.U.P.H.S.*, No. 4, P. 10; *Cat. Arch. Coll. Ind. Muse.*, 1883, 11, PP. 405-08.
72. Allchin, *Ibid.*, P. 200.
73. *Kanpur Gazetteer*, 1909, Vol. XIX, P. 291.
74. *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 4, P. 36.
75. *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XVII, P. 102.
76. *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, P. 74.
77. *Ibid.*, P. 74.
78. *Con. Rept. St. Muse. Luck.*, 1954-60, P. 17.
79. *Ibid.*, P. 17.
80. *Ibid.*, P. 17.
81. *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 8, P. 67.
82. *I.A.R.*, 1965-66, P. 96; *Ibid.*, 1967-68, P. 46; *Ibid.*, 1968-69, P. 39; *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, P. 78.
83. *Ibid.*, P. 78.
84. *Kanpur Gazetteer*, 1909, Vol. XIX, P. 299.
85. Fuhrer, *Ibid.*, P. 168.
86. Dey, *Ibid.*, P. 216; Mathur, P. 770, See, *Kanpur Kā Itihāsa*, PP. 304-12.
87. Dey, *Ibid.*, P. 216.
88. Sachau, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, P. 200.
89. *Ibid.*, P. 200.
90. *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. III, Pt. II, P. 7.
91. *I.A.R.*, 1958-59, P. 49, *Ibid.*, 1961-62, P. 57; *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, P. 73.
92. *I.A.R.*, 1968-69, P. 52.
93. Thaplyal, *Ibid.*, P. 219.
94. *Ibid.*, P. 219; *Divyāvadana*, P. 380.
95. *I.A.R.*, 1958-59, P. 49; *Gangetic Valley Terracotta Art*, P. 107.
96. *Ann. Rept. Prov. Muse. Luck.*, 1911, P. 2., *Lucknow Museum*, Ex. No. 0.48.
97. *Ādikānda*, 71.16-19,. See, Mathur, *ibid.*, P. 946.
98. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, PP. 85-87.
99. Allan, *Ibid.*, P. 280; Smith, *Ibid.*, PP. 191, 197.

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100. *National Herald*, 4th Nov: 1975.
101. *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 8, P. 68.
102. 7.4.19.1.
103. 3.12.20.
104. 3.9.6.
105. 13.2.8.3.
106. Macdonell & Keith, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, P. 149.
107. Mathur, *Ibid.*, P. 159.
108. 2.5.11.3; 5.1.13.37; See, *Studies in Skanda Purāṇa*, P. 85.
109. *Ādikānda*, 33.19. 'Kāmpilyāṁ parayā lakṣmyā devarājo yathādivaṁ.'
110. 138.73-74.
111. *Jatika*, 2.329 ff, *Ibid.*, 6.410.
112. P. 383; See, *Life in Ancient India as Described in the Jain Canons*, P. 293.
113. *H.G.A.I.*, P. 92.
114. 2.4.
115. *Life in Ancient India as Described in the Jain Canons*, P. 293.
116. P. 40.
117. *Kāśikāvritti*, 4.2, 121.
118. 138.73-74.
119. P. 39.
120. P. 50.
121. *A.G.I.*, P. 413; *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. I, P. 225.
122. Dey, *Ibid.*, P. 88; Bajpai, *G.E.A.M.I.*, P. 100, Fuhrer, *Ibid.*, P. 78, Ali, *Ibid.*, P. 135.
123. *I.A.R.*, 1965-66, P. 86; *A.I.*, Nos. 10 & 11, PP. 140, 144.
124. *I.A.R.*, 1965-66, P. 86.
125. Ex. No. 58.47.
126. R.K. Dikshit, Kanauj in Literature, *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, (N.S.), Pt. II, P. 54; Tripathi, *Ibid.*, P. 2, Note 1.
127. *Mbh.*, Anu, 4.36; Ādi, 173.19; 175.3; Udyoga, 117.5; *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, 1.117; 4.135, 145; 7.237; 8.24, 53.
128. 2.442, 443, 459.
129. 2.441, 460.
130. P. 209.
131. 2.299-300.
132. P. 118.
133. 2.26.
134. 2.35.
135. P. 128.
136. P. 99.
137. LXI. 2.
138. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.30.6, *Padma Purāṇa*, Srishtikhaṇḍa, 29.135; 35.193; Bhūmikhaṇḍa, 111.4; 27.86; *Viṣṇdharmottar Purāṇa*, 1.20.3; *Prachaṇḍapaṇḍava*, P. 2; *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, P. 8.
139. *Rājatarangiṇī*, 4.133; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, P. 304; *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, P. 218, *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, P. 72, 271.
140. *Mbh.*, Udyoga, 31.19, Cowel & Thomas, *Ibid.*, PP. 183, 226.

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141. *Śabhākalpadruma*, 2.210; *Abhidhānachintamaṇi*, 5.40, *Kalpadukośa*, 5.16.
142. *Uttara Parva*, 3.44.
143. 4.40.
144. CLXII, 2 ff.
145. P. 11.
146. *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, 129.9; *Srishtikhaṇḍa*, 35.193, 29, 153.
147. *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa*, 129.22.
148. *Madhyama Parva*; Pt. II, Chapt. VIII, 5.128.
149. *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa*, 1.49.
150. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, PP. 134, 224, 227.
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153. *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. III, Pt. I, P. 58 ff.
154. *J.G.J.R.I.*, Vol. XVI, Pt. III-IV, P. 282.
155. *Buddha Kālīna Bhāratiya Bhūgola*, P. 182.
156. *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, (N.S.); Pt. II, P. 55.
157. Watters, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, P. 341.
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160. Sachau, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, P. 198 ff.
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162. 3.4.4.
163. 1.20.2-3.
164. Sachau, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, PP. 173, 198.
165. Giles, *Ibid.*, P. 29.
166. Watters, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, P. 340, Beal, *Life of Yuan Chwang*, P. 82.
167. *A.G.I.*, P. 430.
168. Watters, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, P. 340.
169. *Ibid.*, P. 340.
170. *Ibid.*, P. 340.
171. 4.145.
172. *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. II (N.S.), Pt. II, P. 58.
173. LXI. 411.
174. 1.2.36.129.
175. P. 11.
176. 3.2, See, Upadhyaya, *Ibid.*, P. 424; *J.U.P.H.S.* Vol. II, (N.S.), Pt. II, P. 63.
177. Watters, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, P. 340.
178. *Ibid.*, P. 340.
179. *Ibid.*, P. 340.
180. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, P. 211.
181. *H.G.A.I.*, P. 93.
182. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, P. 38.
183. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, P. 17.
184. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, P. 187, Verse 9.
185. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, PP. 7 ff., Note 46, *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, P. 13, Note 33.
186. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, P. 293.

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187. *A.G.I.*, P. 436; *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. I, P. 285.
188. *Ibid.*, P. 285, *A.G.I.*, P. 436.
189. *I.A.R.*, 1955-56, P. 19.
190. *Ibid.*, P. 19.
191. *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXX, P. 219, Pl. XI.12., See, Thaplyal, *Ibid.*, P. 119.
192. Bajpai, Kanauj—A Great Centre of Early Medieval Art, *J.I.M.*, Vol. IX, P. 106-08; R.K. Dikshit, *Ibid.*, P. 22; *Tourist Journal*, Aug-Sept. 1954, PP. 22-23; *B.U.P.H.S.*, No. 4; P. 14; Dwivedi, Some Medieval Sculptures From Kanauj, *Annual Conference of the Indian Archaeological Society, New Delhi*, 9th-10th January 1975, PP. 1-4.
193. Allan, *Ibid.*, P. 280; Smith, *Ibid.*, P. 191.
194. A good number of coins are now preserved in the local Archaeological Museum Kanauj.
195. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, P. 99.
196. *I.A.R.*, 1967-68, P. 47; *Ibid.*, 1968-69, P. 39; *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 4, P. 38.
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198. Fuhrer, *Ibid.*, P. 81, *Farrukhabad Gazetteer*, 1911, Vol. IX, P. 232.
199. Fuhrer, *Ibid.*, P. 165.
200. *I.A.R.*, 1969-70, P. 41; *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 8, P. 70.
201. *Ibid.*, P. 70.
202. *Ibid.*, P. 70.
203. Fuhrer, *Ibid.*, P. 166; *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, P. 76.
204. Prayag Dayal, Note on Lālā Bhagat Pillar, *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, PP. 38-41.
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207. *Ibid.*, P. 41.
208. *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, P. 75.
209. *I.A.R.*, 1964-65, P. 76.
210. *Marg*, Vol. XIV, No. 3, P. 45.
211. Fuhrer, *Ibid.*, P. 82.
212. *I.A.R.*, 1955-56, P. 69, *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, P. 78.
213. *Ibid.*, P. 79.
214. N.P. Joshi, A Unique Figure of Śiva from Mūsānagar, *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, PP. 25-30.
215. *Ibid.*, 79.
216. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, PP. 118-20.
217. Bajpai, *I.N.S.*, P. 42, Note 23; *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXVI, Pt. I, P. 5, Note 7.
218. No. 66.13; *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, P. 7.
219. *I.A.R.*, 1961-62, P. 67, *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, P. 76.
220. *Ibid.*, P. 78, *I.A.R.*, 1967-68, P. 46.
221. *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, P. 77.
222. *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XI, P. 32.
223. Watters, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, P. 333.
224. *Ibid.*, P. 333.
225. *Ibid.*, P. 333, Beal, *Ibid.*, P. 81.
226. *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XI, P. 32.

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227. *Ibid.*, P. 37.
228. *Ibid.*, P. 36.
229. *Ibid.*, P. 16; Thaplyal, *Ibid.*, P. 219.
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231. *Gangetic Valley Terracotta Art*, P. 105.
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233. *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XI, P. 46 ff., *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1908-09, P. 17 ff; Fuhrer, *Ibid.*, P. 166; Mathur, *Ibid.*, PP. 533-34.
234. *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, P. 74.
235. *I.A.R.*, 1964-65, P. 76, *Ibid.*, 1967-68, P. 46, *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, P. 74.
236. *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XI, P. 47; *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1908-09, P. 18.
237. *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XI, P. 47, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1908-09, P. 18, *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 8, P. 68.
238. 4.2.80.
239. *Ādikāṇḍa*, 71.16-19.
240. Giles, *Ibid.*, P. 24.
241. *Ibid.*, P. 27.
242. Watters, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, P. 333, Beal, *Ibid.*, P. 81.
243. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, P. 157.
244. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, 3.2
245. P. 46 (Hindi); Upadhyaya, *Ibid.*, P. 416.
246. 2.3.21.
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248. Watters, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, P. 333, 340, Beal, *Ibid.*, PP. 81-82.
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254. *Buddha Kālīna Bhārata Kā Bhogolika Parichaya*, P. 9.
255. Dutta & Bajpai, *Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh*, PP. 337 ff; Dey, *Ibid.*, P. 177; Mathur, *Ibid.*, P. 946, *H.G.A.I.*, P. 120; Upadhyaya, *Ibid.*, P. 416.
256. *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. I, P. 278, Giles, *Ibid.*, P. 24 ff.
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258. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, P. 28; Pt. IX, fig 4; *Gangetic Valley Terracotta Art*, P. 44.
259. *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XI, PP. 24-29.
260. *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. III, Pt. III, PP. 109 ff.
261. *Ibid.*, P. 113.
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263. *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. III, Pt. III, P. 108; *Ann. Rept. Prov. Muse. Luck.*, 1917, P. 3, Thaplyal, *Ibid.*, P. 107.
264. Thaplyal, *Ibid.*, P. 207, Note 31.
265. *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. III, Pt. III, P. 108; *Ann. Rept. Prov. Muse. Luck.*, 1917, P. 3.
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267. Thaplyal, *Ibid.*, P. 49.

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275. *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. III, Pt. III, P. 107.
276. *Brija Kā Itihāsa*, P. 77, Bajpai, *Mathurā*, (Hindi), P. 16.
277. Dutta & Bajpai, *Ibid*, P. 342.
278. *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XI, P. 25; *J.U.P.H.S.*, *Ibid.*, P. 107, *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 3, P. 39.
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280. *Ann. Rept. Prov. Muse. Luck.*, 1903, P. 3. 'Kudinasa Chandana Vaṇiñasa'.
281. *Ann. Rept. St. Muse. Luck.*, (Hindi), 1950-54, P. 6. A Śuṅga Inscription from Sankissā, *B.M.A.U.P.*, No. 2, PP. 51-52; Dutta & Bajpai, *Ibid.*, P. 342.
282. No. 50.56.
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6

Trade Routes

In ancient India roads were generally looked after properly. The Prithvīsukta of the Atharvaveda mentions that roads were numerous and they were the chief source of transport and communication.[1] The insecurity on the routes was the general characteristic of the vedic period. The routes were open to good as well as to wicked people. Thieves and wild animals infested the routes. They caused loss of life and property to the traders.[2] Some roads were so rough that vehicles had difficulty in gaining speed.[3] During the course of journey, the travellers depended upon divine guidance.[4] God Indra and Marut were prayed for easy travels.[5] Angi and Indra were prayed for the protection of routes.[6] Soma[7] and Pūṣan[8] were held as the guardians of roads. At times the travellers took the guidance of the local people.[9] We learn from Pāṇinī that all possible care was taken during the preparations of roads, but still they were not safe from those causing harm on the route (*Panthaghatakas*).[10] He refers to a vedic prayer: 'May god save your journey from robbers (*Baṭamāra*)'.[11]

The Āvaśyakasūtra mentions that Indians were much advanced in navigation and maritime commerce and activities during the Buddha's time.[12] Pāṇinī refers to various kinds of routes such as *Vāripatha* (water route), *Sthalapatha* (land route), *Rathapatha* (chariot route), *Karipatha* (elephant road), *Ajapatha* (goat route), *Śaṅkupatha* (highway), and *Siṁhapatha* (lion's road). Air routes are also implied in the words *Hansapatha* and *Devapatha*.[13]

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Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa has recognised ten types of roads viz. (*i*) *Diśāmārga* (International roads width 80 cubits), *Grāmamārga* (leading to another village, 80 cubits), (*iii*) *Sīmāmārga* (border roads, 40 cubits). (*iv*) *Rājapatha* (city roads, 40 cubits), (*v*) *Śākhārathyā* (branch roads, 16 cubits), (*vi*) *Rathoparthyā* (vehicular branch roads, 12 cubits), (*vii*) *Uparathyā* (smaller ones, 8 cubits), (*viii*) *Jaṅghāpatha* (4 padas), (*ix*) *Grahāntarpatha* (internal streets (3 padas), and (*x*) *Ghratimārga* (above 6 padas).[14] The Vāyu Purāṇa mentions eleven types of roads. The seven categories are common to both the Purāṇas. After the seventh, the latter lists—*Ghantāpatha* (4 padas), *Grahāntarpatha* (3 padas), *Vratimārga* (1/2 pada), and *Prāgvaṁsa* (1 pada).[15]

The Rāmāyaṇa furnishes an elaborate account of road-making. It refers to different classes of people who were responsible for the construction and maintenance of roads. They include soil-experts, surveyors, diggers, labourers, masons, engineers, carpenters and wood-cutters, well-diggers, builders of rest houses and other minor works in leather and bamboo.[16] It appears from the duties assigned to these experts of road construction that before a road was made, the nature of ground and the layout of land were thoroughly studied. The above account furnishes a proof that for the look-after and construction of royal or common roads there must have been a public Works Department like modern times. According to the Rāmāyaṇa good roads were constructed every where.[17]

During the Mauryan period, a considerable attention was paid for the maintenance and construction of roads. The purpose behind it was not only the development and the beautification of towns, but also to govern the extensive kingdom from the Himalayas to Mysore and from Kathiawar to Bengal. According to Kautilya a town must have three roads each sides from east to west and from north to south. He further states that roads leading to *Droṇamukha* (centre of the 400 villages), *Sthānīya* (centre of the 800 villages), country roads, and out-going roads from markets should be 8 daṇḍas, Setuvana 4 daṇḍas, elephant roads 2 daṇḍas, chariot roads 5 artni, cattle roads 4 hand and road for man should be made of two hand width.[18] He prescribes severe punishments to those who harm these roads. He prescribes a punishment of one eighth of a Paṇa to those who throw dust on lanes or streets,[19] for those who throw dusty water on roads should be fined one fourth of a Paṇa, and who pollute royal roads should be fined half Paṇa.[20] Those

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found using the Royal Roads polluting should be fined one Paṇa.[21] Trade routes were properly looked-after and protected by the Samāhartā.[22] Megasthenes refers to some officers, who constructed roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show the bye-roads and distances.[23] The Mauryan ruler Aśoka provided water facilities by digging wells at every half Kosa. Rest-houses were also made on the road-side by his government.[24]

After the Mauryan rule, the successive dynasties ruling over the area took necessary steps to maintain the roadways. The rulers must have made considerable efforts for the development of roads. The Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra of Bhoja (1000 A.D.) mentions six types of arteries of communication namely, *Mahārathyā* (big carriage road), *Yānamārga* (carriage road), *Upārathyā* (branch carriage road), Rathyā (ordinary carriage road), *Ghantāmārga* (chief road across a village highway), and *Rājamārga* (city road and highway).[25]

The area under study was under the Pañchāla Janapada in ancient times. This Janapada extended from the Himalayas to the river Chambel. The Krivis, who were one of the components of the Pañchālas find mention in the Ṛigveda.[26] It appears that Pañchālas were the first Āryans who came down towards the south and established themselves in this area. If it was so then they must have maintained relations with their neighbouring states, Sūrasena, Chedi, Matyas and Kuru. The Pañchāla and the Kuru rulers marched forth together on raids.[27] The Kuru-Pañchāla rulers performed the Rājasūya (royal sacrifice).[28] The speech of their land was regarded as excellent.[29] The authors of the Vedic Index are of the opinion that the great Brāhmaṇa books were composed in the Kuru-Pañchāla country.[30] The Naimiṣīya sacrifice among the Kuru-Pañchālas further emphasized the close connection of the two people.[31] It appears that Kurus and Pañchālas had inter-connecting roads. The Kuru-Pañchāla Brāhmaṇas were invited and given gifts by Janaka, King of Videha.[32]

The area under review was traversed by the great Northern Route which later on became famous as Uttarāpatha. This route can be identified with the modern Grand Trunk Road. It linked Rājagriha with Takṣaśilā, the capital of Gandhāra. The important towns on this route were Varanasi, Prayāga, Kānyakubja, Sankissā, Indraprastha, Sākal (Sialkot). Pāṇinī has mentioned this route.[33] The Greek historians Ṣtrabo and Plini have also referred to this route.[34] We learn from the Rāmāyaṇa that Śatrughana while going to crush

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Lavaṇa at Mathurā from Ayodhyā, first came to Biṭhūr.[35] It appears that he followed the same Uttarāpatha route from Biṭhūr which passed through Kānyakubja and Sankissā and reached Mathurā. Lakṣmana along with Sītā came by the same route from Ayodhyā to drop her during the course of her exile.[36]

During the period of the Buddha, we get a detailed account of the routes of this area. Sankissā was the important town during this time. It was situated on the junction of three trade routes. Firstly, it stood on the Uttarāpatha route between Soron and Kanauj.[37] After spending the twelth rainy season in Verañjā Buddha travelled from this route via Soron, Sankissā, Kanauj, Prāyaga and went to Varanasi.[38] This route from Verañjā to Varanasi was the shortest according to Buddhaghosa.[39] Fahien came to Sankissā from Mathurā by the same route and then travelled to Kānyakubja.[40] From Kanauj he crossed the river Gaṅgā and went to Ayodhyā.[41]

The second route passed to Śrāvastī via Sāketa.[42] The distance from Sankissā to Śrāvastī was 30 yojanas.[43] According to Dr. Upadhyaya, the Buddha after coming down to Sankissā by Trayastriṁsā heaven went to Śrāvastī by the same route.[44]

The third route was from Soron to Sahjāti (Bhītā, in the Allahabad district). This route was followed by Sthavira Revata. He started from Soron, came to Sankissā and then proceeded to Kānyakubja.[45] Thereafter he went to Udumbar, Aggalapura and Sahajāti.[46] Sankissā has yielded an inscription in the Aśokan Brāhmī characters which has been read as 'Kudiñasa Chandana Vaṇiñasa'.[47] This find indicates the fact that sandal-wood trade was flourishing in this town.

There was a water trade route existing between Varanasi and Indraprastha. From Varanasi the boats on Gaṅgā came to Prayāga and then through the river Yamunā they went to Indraprastha.[48]

Kanauj was developed into a rich and prosperous centre of trade. Several traders brought their costly wares from distant places to its markets.[49] The Mahāvastu mentions it as the centre of various arts and crafts which were organised under guilds. It describes the guilds and workshops of *Mālākāras* (garland-makers), *Kumbhakāras* (potters), *Vardhakis* (carpenters), *Rajakas* (washer-men), *Taṭṭakāras* (boatsmen), *Suvarṇakāras* (goldsmiths), *Maṇikāras* (jewellers), *Śaṅkha-Valayakāras* (makers of shell bangles), *Śaṅkhadantakāras* (makers of shell articles), *Śaṅkha-gajadantakāras* (shell and ivory workers), *Yantrakāras* (engineers), *Varutas* (Śudra-servants), and

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Sūpakāras (cooks).[50]

We learn from Hudūd Al-Ālam (982-83 A.D.) that during the 10th century A.D. jewels, silk, turbans, medical herbs were exported to Arab from Kanauj country.[51] The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang also refers that the people of Kanauj were dressed in costly silk.[52] Kāvyamīmaṁsā refers to the carpenters.[53] Rājaśekhara also notices certain business classes and artisans who were assigned places to the west in the Assembly, specially convened for the examination of poets. These include Painters, Jewel-sellers, Jewellers, Gold Smiths, Ironmongers, etc.[54]

During the 7th cenury A.D., Hiuen-Tsang visited the area under study. He entered Sankissā from Pi-lo-Shanna.[55] After Sankissā he visited Ka-no-ku-she (Kanauj).[56] The pilgrim gives the distance of Kanauj from Sankissā as 200 li (53-54 Kms.) in the north-west direction.[57] The position of both these places are well known. Cunningham has proposed a correction to the south-east and the distance to 300 li (80 Kms.).[58] Thomas Watters has also accepted this location.[59] This correction has been supported by Fahien who makes the distance 7 yojanas (78 Kms.)[60] From Kanauj Hiuen-Tsang proceeded to No-fo-ti-Po-Ku-lo (Navadevakula).[61] Nando Lal Dey identifies Navadevakula with Narwal, a place 53 Kms. south-west of Unnao near Bāngarmau and about 31 Kms. south-east of Kanauj.[62] Cunningham locates the site somewhere near Nobatganja, just below the junction of the Isan river and opposite Nanamau ghāt.[63] There are no existing remains anywhere in the neighbourhood. The place has most likely been swept away by the river.

The Arab historian Alberuni describes the following seven routes of the area under study, taking rise from Kanauj:

The first route starts from Kanauj to Prayāga and to the eastern coast leading to the south upto Kānchi. He states: "A man marching from Kanoj to the south between the two rivers Jaun and the Ganges passes the following well known places: Jajjamau, 12 farsakh from Kanoj, each farsakh being equal to four miles or one kuroh; Ābhāpurī, 8 farsakh; Kuraha, 8 farsakh; Barhamshil, 8 farsakh; the Tree of Prayāga, 12 farsakh. . .

Other tracts of the country extend from the Tree of Prayāga southward towards the coast. Arku-tīrtha, 12 farsakh from Prayāga; the realm Uwaryahār, 40 farsakh; Ūrdabīshau on the coast, 50 farsakh.

Thence along the coast towards the east there are countries which

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are now under the sway of Jaur; first Daraur, 40 farsakh from Ūrdabīshau; Kānjī, 30 farsakh; Malaya, 40 farsakh; Kūnk, 30 farsakh, which is the last of Jaur's possessions in this direction."[64]

Jajjamau is the modern Jājmau situated on the right bank of the river Gaṅgā, at a distance of 5 Kms. east of Kanpur City. Ābhāpurī has not been identified. Kurha has been identified with Korājahanābād, in the Bindki tahsil of Fatehpur district which stands on lat. 26° 7′ N.[65] Alberuni has located it on 26° 1′ N.[66] Scholars differ regarding the identification of Barhmashila.[67] The Tree of Prayāga was on the confluence of rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Hiuen-Tsang has pronounced it as Po-lo-ya-ka.[68] This route described by the Arab historian is a part of the Uttarāpatha route.

The second route starts from Kanauj or Bārī to the mouth of the Gaṅgā. Alberuni writes: "Marching from Bārī along the Ganges on its eastern side, you pass the following stations: Ajodhya (Ayodhyā or Oudh), 25 farsakh from Bārī; the famous Banārasī, 20 farsakh.

Thence changing the direction and marching eastward instead of southward, you come to Sharwār, 35 farsakh from Banārasī; Pāṭaliputra, 20 farsakh; Mugīrī, 15 farsakh; Janpa, 30 farsakh; Dūgumpūr, 50 farsakh; Gangāsāyara, 30 farsakh, where the Ganges falls into the sea."[69]

Ajodhya is the modern Ayodhyā. It was famous as Sāketa in ancient times.[70] Hiuen-Tsang has called it as A-yu-te.[71] Banārasī is the modern city Varanasi. Hiuen-Tsang refers to it as Po-la-ni-sa.[72] Fahien must have followed the same route from Kanauj to Ayodhyā after crossing the river Gaṅgā.[73]

The third route mentioned by Alberuni traversed from Kanauj through Nepal to Tibet. He mentions: "Marching from Kanoj towards the east you come to Bārī, 10 farsakh; Dūgum, 45 farsakh; the empire of Silahat, 10 farsakh; the town Bihat, 12 farsakh. Further on the country to the right is called Tilwat. Thence you come to the mountain of Kāmru. Opposite Tilwat the country to the left is the realm of Naipāl. . . .Bhoteshar is the first frontier of Tibet."[74]

Dūgum has been identified with Dogaon (Dogāma), situated on the northern bank of the river Saryū at a distance of 35 Kms. in Bahraich district of Uttar Pradesh.[75] Sachau identifies Silahat with the Silhat of Assam.[76] On the other hand Dowson identifies it with Sīlahat of Shahjahan of Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pra-

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desh.[77] This appears to be correct. Bihat is probably Bethia in the north-east of Champāran in the Saran district.[78] Tilwat is modern Tirhut which is a corruption of Tirabhukti.[79] In ancient times the region was called Videha.[80] Kāmarupa is near Ganpati in Assam. Bhoṭeshar is identified with Bhutan. Modern Nepal and Tibet were called by the same name during the time of Alberuni.

The fourth route traversed southwards from Kanauj to the southern coast upto Banavāsī. The historian states: "Marching from Kanoj towards the south-east, on the western side of the Ganges, you come to the realm of Jajāhūtī, 30 farsakh from Kanoj. The capital of which is Kajūrāha. Between this town and Kanoj there are two of the most famous fortresses of India, Gwāliyar (Gwalior) and Kālanjar. Dahala, a country the capital of which is Tiauri. The realm of Kannakara, 20 farsakh, Apsūr, Banavās, on the sea coast."[81]

Jajāhūtī and Kajūrāha are Jajākbhukti and Khajurāhā respectively. Gwalior and Kalañjara are well known. Dahāla is Dāhalmanḍala which was ruled by Kalchuries with their capital at Tripurī.[82] It appears that the 13th attack of Mahmūd of Ghazni in 1019 A.D. over Kanauj, Bārī and Kalañjara took place by the same route.[83] But it does not appear correct that Mahmūd conducted his 15th attack by the same route. As he first captured Gwalior fort and afterwards attacked Kalañjara.[84] Gwalior is situated towards the south-west direction of this route. Therefore, the Sultan must have followed some other route.

The fifth route marched from Kanauj to Bazāna and afterwards reached to the capital of Gujrāt. Alberuni describes: "Marching from Kanoj towards the south-west, you come to Āsī, 18 farsakh from Kanoj; Sahanyā, 17 farsakh; Jandrā, 18 farsakh; Rājaurī, 15 farsakh; Bazāna, the capital of Guzarat, 20 farsakh. This town is called Nārāyan by our people. After it had fallen into decay, the inhabitants migrated to other place called Jadura(?)."[85]

Nazim identifies Āsī with Asai which is situated on the left bank of the river Yamunā at a distance of 10 Kms. west of Etawah.[86] Some scholars identify it with Asnī, located 16 Kms. north-east of Fatehpur.[87] Cunningham has identified it with the Assai-ghāt on the river Yamunā, 10 Kms. to the south of Etawah and about 96 Kms. south-west of Kanauj.[88] Sahanyā has been identified with Suhania, the well known art centre located at a distance of 40 Kms. north of Gwalior.[89] Jandrā has been identified with Hindon,

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located on the bank of river Chambel.[90] Rajori still exists under the same name at a distance of 9 Kms. to the south-west of Hindon.[91] Cunningham identifies Bazāna or Narāyan with Bairāt (Gujrat) the capital of Narayanpur.[92] Nazim has also identified it with the same Narayanpur.[93] This route can be identified with the present Kanauj-Etawah road via Tirwa joining the old Mughal Road at Etawah leading towards Agra.

The sixth route traversed from Kanauj to Kashmir. He writes: "Marching from Kanoj towards the north-west, you come to Shirshāraha, 50 farsakh from Kanoj; Pinjaur, 18 farsakh; situated on the mountains, whilst opposite it in the plain there lies the city of Tānēshar, Dahmāla the capital of Jālandhar, at the foot of the mountains, 18 farsakh; Bullāwar, 10 farsakh; thence marching westward, you come to Ladda, 13 farsakh, the fortress Rājagirī, 8 farsakh, thence marching northwards, you come to Kashmīr, 25 farsakh."[94]

Shirshāraha and Pinjaur have not been identified. Tānēshar is a well known place. Thāneśwer which was the capital of Vardhanas. Some scholars take Dāhmal with Dehamerī and identify it with Nīrpur to which Jahāngīra gave the name Noorpur after the name of his beloved queen Noorjahān. Its ancient capital was Pratiṣṭhāna or Pathānkot.[95] Sachau has identified Ballāwar with Ballālpur.[96] Dr. Jayshankar Misra presumes it as modern Fillour.[97] Hodiwala identifies it with modern Bisholī or Basolī.[98] Ladda was the tributary of river Jhelum.[99] Rājagirī was situated some where on the north of Punjab probably in the Suran valley.[100]

The seventh route traversed from Kanauj to Pānīpat, Atak, Kabul and Ghazna. Alberuni mentions: "From Kanoj towards the west, you come to Diyāmau, 10 farsakh from Kanoj; Kutī, 10 farsakh; Ārār, 10 farsakh; Mīrat, 10 farsakh; Pānipat, 10 farsakh. Between the latter two places flows the river Jaun; Kawital, 10 farsakh; Sunnam, 10 farsakh.

Thence marching towards the north-west, you come to Ādittahaur, 9 farsakh; Jajjanīr, 6 farsakh; Mandahūkūr, the capital of Laurhāwur, east of the river Irāwa, 8 farsakh; the river Candāha, 12 farsakh; the river Jailam, west of the river Biyatta, 8 farsakh; Waihind, the capital of Kandhār, west of the river Sindh, 20 farsakh; Purshāwar, 14 farsakh; Dunpūr, 15 farsakh; Kabul, 12 farsakh; Ghazna, 17 farsakh."[101]

Diyāmau has not been identified. According to Hodiwala Kutī is

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a corrupt form of Kolī or Kola which was the ancient name of Aligarh.[102] Ārār has not been identified. Mirat is well known modern city Meerut. Pānipath still preserves the same name. Its ancient name was Pāṇiprastha. It was one of the five villages demanded by Yudhiṣṭhira from Duryodhana.[103] Sachau has identified Kawītal with that of Kāpisthala (modern Kapurthalā) which is situated in the Karnal district of Haryana.[104] It is said to have been founded by Yudhiṣṭhira.[105] Sunnām has not been identified. Ādittahaur has been read by Hodiwala as Abohar, a town in Dīvālpur district.[106] The present ruins of the village Janera of Jera tahsil of Firozpur district of Punjab has been identified by Hodiwala with that of Jajjanīr.[107] Mandahūkūr has been lacated near Lahore.[108] Lauhāwur is modern Lahore. Irāwa, Candrāha, Jailam and Biyatta are the modern rivers Rāvī, Chenab, Jhelum, and Vyās respectively. Purshāwar is modern Peshawar. Waihind has been identified by modern Ohind.[109] Dunpūr was situated in Punjab. Sachau has identified it with Jalālābād.[110]

The main route of the region was the Uttarāpatha route, which was the most important one in the country. Other routes passing through the region, joined the important towns of this area with those of other tracts. The economic and the cultural development of this region mainly depended on the land routes detailed above.

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Comparing the Hindu Yojana with Arabic miles, Sachau has made efforts to establish corelation with the English miles.
(*a*) One English mile $= \frac{161}{2020}$ Arabic mile
(*b*) One Arabic miles $= \frac{2025}{2186}$ English mile.
One farsakh is equal to 4 Arabic miles and 4 Arabic miles are equal to $3\frac{771}{1769}$ English miles ora bout 4 × 2186 yards. Thus one farsakh is equal to $4\frac{1794}{1769}$ English miles. (Misra, *Ibid.*, PP. 40-41). Gibb takes the Arabic mile equal to 1921 metres. 4 Arabic miles are equal to $4\frac{39}{40}$ English miles. According to him 4 Arabic miles are equal to 7084 metres (25200 ft.) or equal to $4\frac{17}{22}$ English miles. (H.A.R. Gibb, *Travels of Ibn-Batuta*, PP. 347-48; *J.A.S.B.*, 1899, No. 2, P. 24). Stien has taken Alberuni's farsakh equal to $4\frac{77}{80}$ English miles. (*J.A.S.B.*, 1889; P. 25). Dr. Jayashankar Misra has put forth a suggestion to take one farsakh of Alberuni a bit less than 5 miles (Misra, *Ibid.*, P. 41).
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7

Economic Geography

The economic geography has an important bearing on the study of the economic and cultural development of a region. The location, topography and the climatic conditions are largely responsible for the economic set-up of an area. The cultural development into various facets of life and thought presupposes an economic stability, which is the root of development. In regard to the area under study, it is clearly discernible that the physical conditions of the region were quite favourable for the economic progress.

The region formed the lower part of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab. The soil of Doab is covered with alluvial deposit brought by these two rivers. Topographically, it forms monotonous level plain except the southern portion. The southern part of the region is deeply cut by the Yamunā ravines.

The area under study is on the whole a fertile one. The land represents unbroken flat area. This flatness makes the course of river slow, thus providing great fertility to the area by alluvial deposits and offering facilities for irrigation and navigation. The region is fortunate enough in having several important rivers, namely the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Kālīnadī and the Rāmagaṅgā.

The terms of agricultural significance such as Ūrara, Dhānya and Vanpanti occur in Rigveda.[1] Yava was known to the Rigvedic Āryans. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[2] we learn that the land between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā was prosperous. The Satapathabrāhmaṇa refers to sowing, reaping and threshing.[3] A kind of metal was

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also used for making ploughs.[4] The importance of seasons in agriculture was realised.[5] In the Rigveda[6] and the Atharvaveda[7] dātra (reaping hook) and Sṛni (reaping sickle) have also been mentioned. The Atharvaveda refers to Yava (barley), Vṛihī (rice),[8] beans (māsa), sugarcane[9] and other varieties of rice.[10] The excavation of Atranjikhera phase III has yielded Hordeum vulgare (variety of barley) and rice.[11] According to Dr. Krishna Mohan Shrimali "the time span of the third phase at this site is such a long one (c. 1200-600 B.C.) that one cannot be sure of the exact antiquity of the grains in question – particularly barley. Though rice is definitely post-Rigvedic as it is mentioned only in later Saṃhitas."[12] The Rāmāyaṇa gives a long list of food crops like rice,[13] barley and wheat[14] and the fabric crops like cotton, silk[15] and hemp.[16] The grainaries mentioned in Manusmṛti, Mahābhāṣya and Milindapanha give a clear indication of surplus productions.[17] Calamities like flood and famine are also alluded.[18]

The advant of iron introduced significant technological development in this part of the country. Dr. R.S. Sharma believes that the early use of iron was largely confined to weapons of war and at a later stage iron was utilized in agriculture and other economic activities.[19] The excavations of Jakhera, district Etawah, have yielded "iron objects including hoe, sickle(?), plough-share. . . ."[20] The iron implements discovered at Atranjikhera look like reaping hooks.[21] The cultivation of different crops is borne out by archaeological evidences. The Painted Grey Ware level at Atranjikhera has brought to light barley, rice and wheat.[22]

Apart from agriculture there were many arts and crafts developed in the area under study. Vātsyāyana refers to the sixty-four arts (Catuḥṣaṣti Kalā) of the Panchālas.[23] We find mention of Smellers, Chariot makers, Carpenters, Leather Workers, Jewellers and Merchants.[24] Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini refers to Vyavahāra, Vaṇik, Nimāna, etc. which clearly employ trading activities.[25] The Jātakas throw light on different organisations of crafts and industries in various parts of the country and cities.[26] Some scholars[27] have carried out an analysis on Panchāla coins. Their findings are that these coins are made of very high tin-bronze in which the percentage of tin is about twenty or even higher. We learn the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea that lead and tin both were imported into Indian ports from Barygaza, Muziris and Nelcyndra from Egypt.[28] We find mention to guilds of oil pressers[29] and potters[30] and a bone

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seal referring to Seṭhiputra Soḍika.[31] They indicate the appearance of various artisans and traders in the region. Fahien mentions in connection with Sankissā that the country was very productive.[32]

Hiuen-Tsang mentions in regard to Kanauj that fruits and flowers were abundant and sowing and reaping had their seasons.[33] He saw beautiful gardens and tanks of clear water.[34] The pilgrim narrating the general products of India states that much rice and wheat were grown, while ginger, mustard and pumpkins were also cultivated. Among the most prized fruits were mango, melon, coconut, jack fruits, plantain, tamarind and wood apple, as well as pomegranate and sweet oranges, these last being grown in all the countries.[35] The Chattarpur copper plate inscription informs us that present Sheorajpur village was full of mango and mahuā gardens.[36]

The economic prosperity of the region is further attested to by the account of Fahien who states about Sankissā that "the people are prosperous and happy beyond compare. When men of other nations come, care is taken of all of them and they are provided with what they require."[37] Hiuen-Tsang narrates in regard to Kanauj that the town was "strongly defended and had lofty structures every where; . . . and in it rareties from strange lands were collected."[38] During his visit Kanauj contained 100 Buddhist monasteries with more than 10,000 brethren. He also saw 200 deva-temples included important shrines of Sūrya and Maheśvara.[39] The Vihāras had beautiful images, and one, the shrine of the three-fold Vihāra had a wonder-making tooth of the Buddha, which was exhibited to the crowds of visitors for a charge of one gold coin from each.[40]

The Varaha Purāṇa refers to Kanauj as the ornament of Jambudvīpa.[41] The wealth of the City of Kanauj was further manifested in its people who 'had a refined appearance, and dressed in costly silk."[42] Vikramānk-devacharita praises the lofty structures of Kanauj which appeared like serving as a ladder for the goddess of prosperity to descent from her heavenly home.[43] Rājaśekhara refers to Kanauj as a great city (mahānagar) and very sacred place fit to be nucleus of the country, with reference to which directions to other places should be fixed.[44] The post further appreciates the manner of speech and the dress, hair-style and ornamentation of its ladies who set-up the fashion for their sisters in other parts of the country.[45]

The economic prosperity is further manifested in the culture, learning and manners of the people. We learn from the Chinese

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pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang that the people of Kanauj "were given to learning and were clear and suggestive in discourses."[46] The pilgrim himself stayed in the Bhadra-Vihāra for three months and studied under the direction of Vīrasena, 'a doctor of three *piṭakas*'.[47] The ladies did not lag behind. They distinguished themselves in learning. The Queen Rājyaśrī had distinguished herself by the knowledge of the Sammatiya school doctrine of Buddhism. She followed with appreciation the learned discourses of Hiuen-Tsang.[48] The learned wife of Rājaśekhara named Avantisundarī is another example of cultured ladies of Kanauj. She has been quoted thrice in the Kāvya-mīmāmsā.[49] The Karpūramanjarī was enacted on her advice.[50]

Sulaiman tells us that the King of Jurz (Gurjara-Pratīhāra (King of Kanauj) "maintained numerous forces and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He has great riches and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his States into silver and dust (and gold), and there are said to be mines (of these materials) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers."[51]

Mahmūd of Ghazni found it "a city which raised its head to the skies and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled.[52] The town has been styled as 'the capital of Hind. . . .the Kiblā of the infidels', where 'the treasures of Hind' were collected just as all rivers flow into the sea."[53] Many of its temples of high antiquity were remarkable specimens of artistic workmanship.[54]

The above accounts are indicative of the economic prosperity of the area. Kanauj was the pivot of economic prosperity in northern India during the early Medieval period. This economic prosperity made the area enviable from the economic and cultural points of view.

The trade routes also play a significant role in the development of economic prosperity of a region. The most important trade route of the region was Uttarāpatha or Northern Highway. It traversed from Rājagriha to Takṣaśikā. The important trade centres on this route ware Varanasi, Kauśāmbī, Mathurā, Kanauj, Sākala, etc. We learn from the Padma Purāṇa[55] and the Kathāsaritsāgara[56] that many merchants and traders brought their costly wares to the markets of Kanauj. The economy of the region is further attested to by the fact that it captured the markets in certain commodities outside India. Hudūd Al-Ālam refers to jewels, turbans and medical herbs which were exported to Arab from Kanauj country.[57] During the

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time of emergency grains and other commodities could be easily obtained.

The physiological features of the level plain of the region gave fillip to prosperity of the area. The level ground makes the rivers flow slowly. The geographical factor must have provided favourable navigable conditions in the region throughout the year. The three main rivers which served the purpose of communication were the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā and the Kālīnadī. There was a regular water trade-route between Varanasi and Indraprastha.[58] This water-route must have provided impetus to trade and commerce to the town of Mūṣānagar. This ancient site is situated on the left bank of the river Yamunā. Kampil, Biṭhūr, Bhojpur and Jājmau also developed as prosperous towns as they were situated on the right bank of the main river Gaṅgā.

The area between the two rivers has been a region of perennial evolution and economic growth. Places like Kampil and Kanauj enjoyed the privileges of great centres of political and cultural activities. Kanauj became the capital town of Northern India. It retained its envious position from the 6th to 12th centuries A.D. The chief cause of the rise of this town as a premier city was mainly the geographical factor. It was situated on the high cliff of the river Gaṅgā. It was not susceptible to floods, whereas the towns like Hastināpur suffered greatly due to floods. The capital was transferred from Hastināpur to Kauśāmbī in the 9th century B.C. in the time of King Nichakṣu due to the heavy floods of the river Gaṅgā. The capital was transferred from Pātaliputra to Vidiśā by Pushyamitra Suṅga in his last days. During the time of the Gupta ruler Chandragupta II the seat of administration was shifted to Vidiśā and afterwards to Ujjain. The location of the premier towns largely contributed to the economic and cultural growth of the region. During recent times also the region under study has not suffered much from floods as is the case with several regions of the country. The case of Patna (ancient Pātaliputra) city is an example to illustrate this. In the floods of the year 1975, Patna suffered very heavily and enormous damage was caused due to the floods in the Sone and Gaṅgā rivers. Recently the town and the area around Bulandshahar heavily suffered due to floods in the Kālīnadī. The district of Farrukhabad and the major portion of Kanpur district are free from this trouble due to their location.

The chief factor for the rise and the prosperity of the Panchāla

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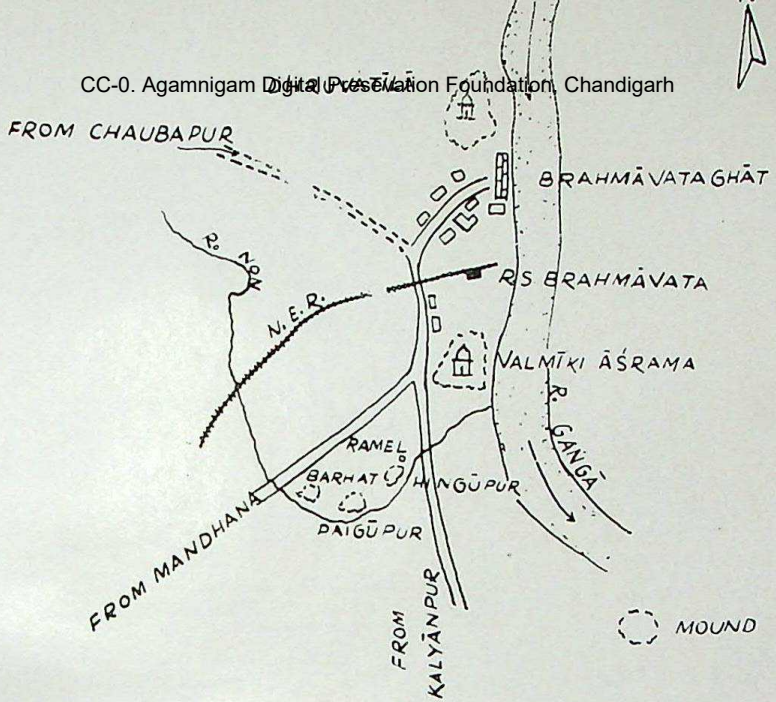

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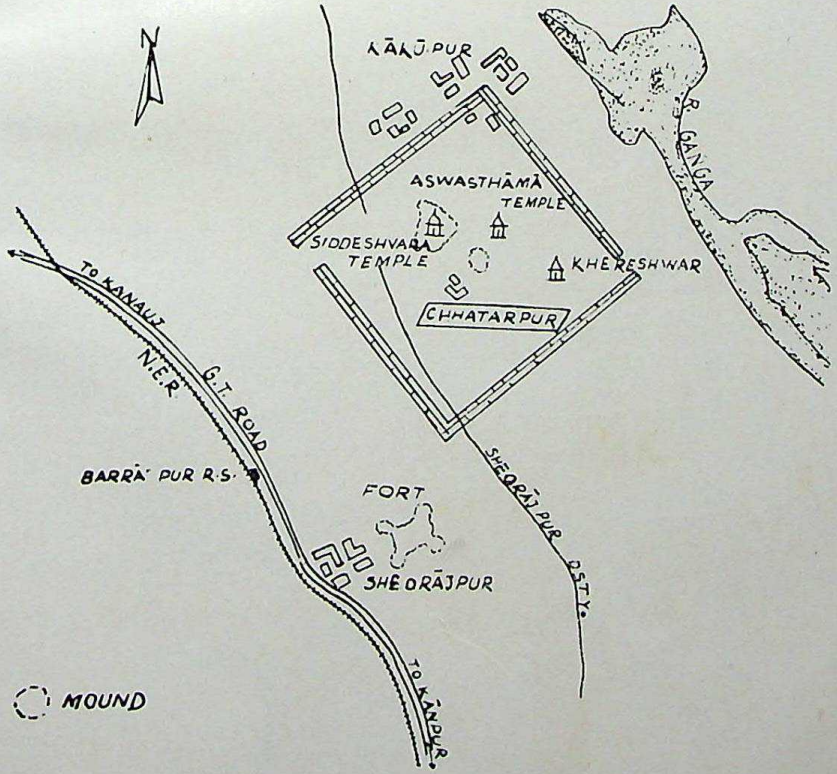

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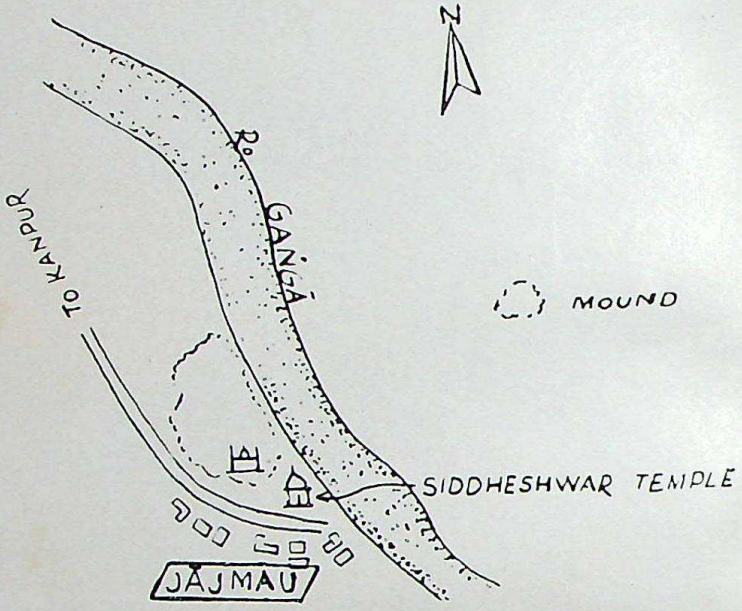

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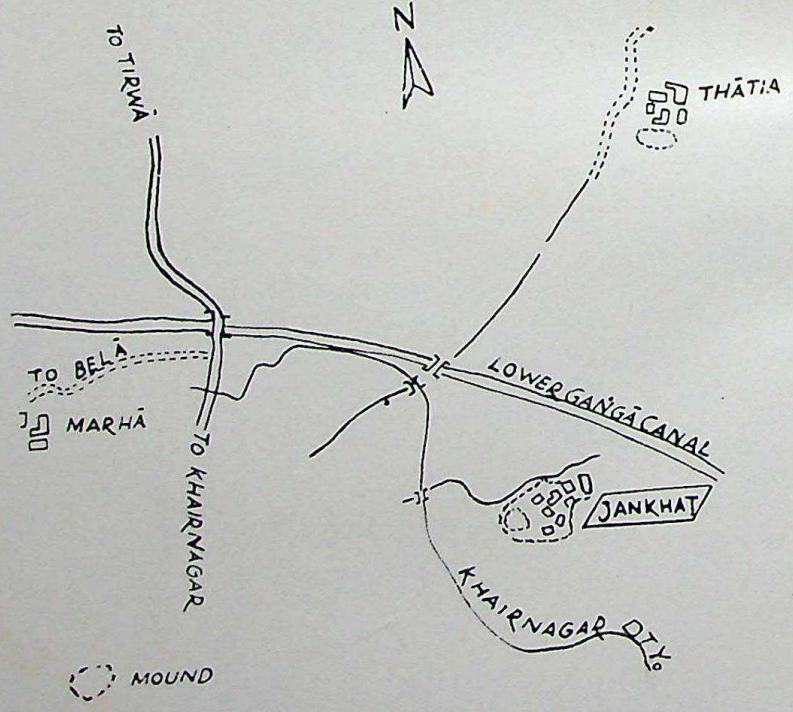

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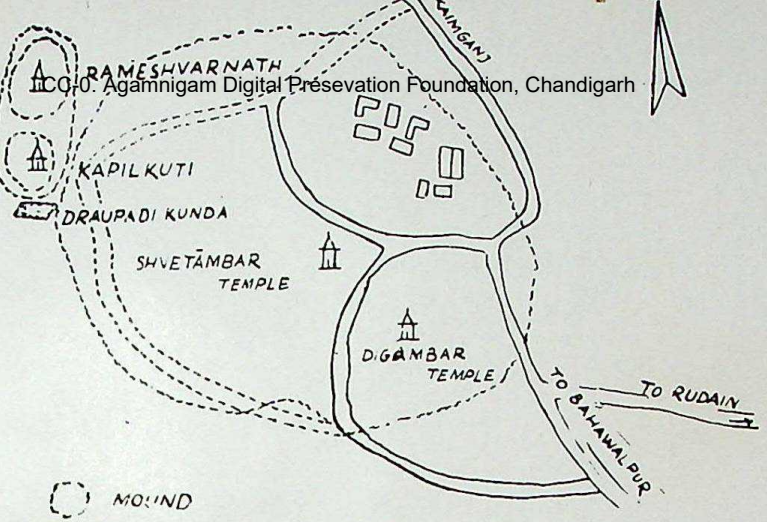

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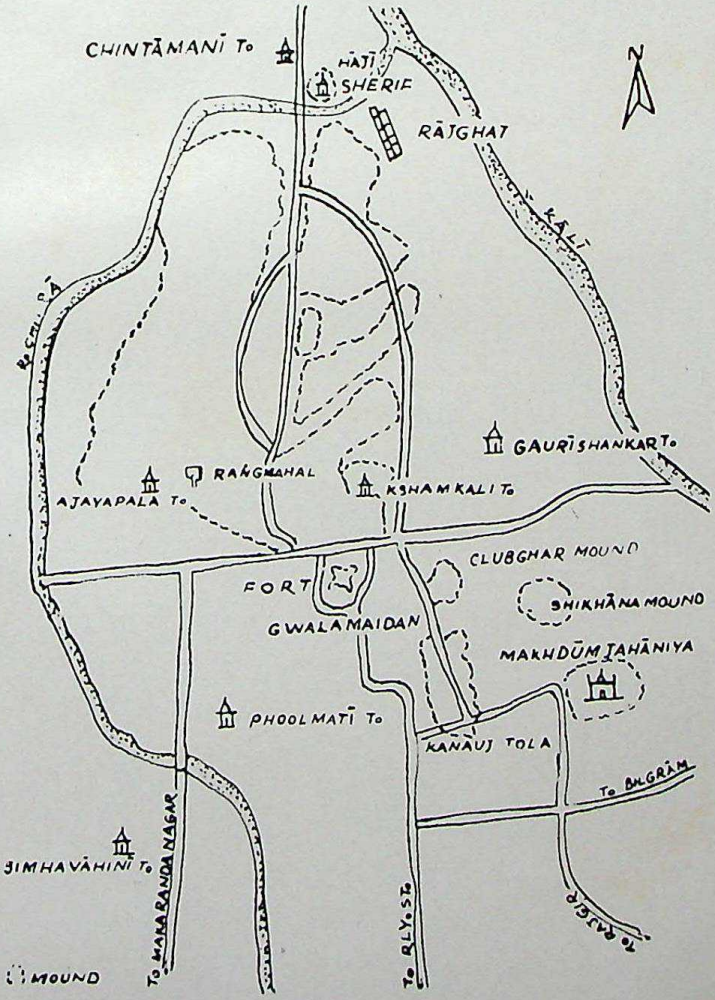

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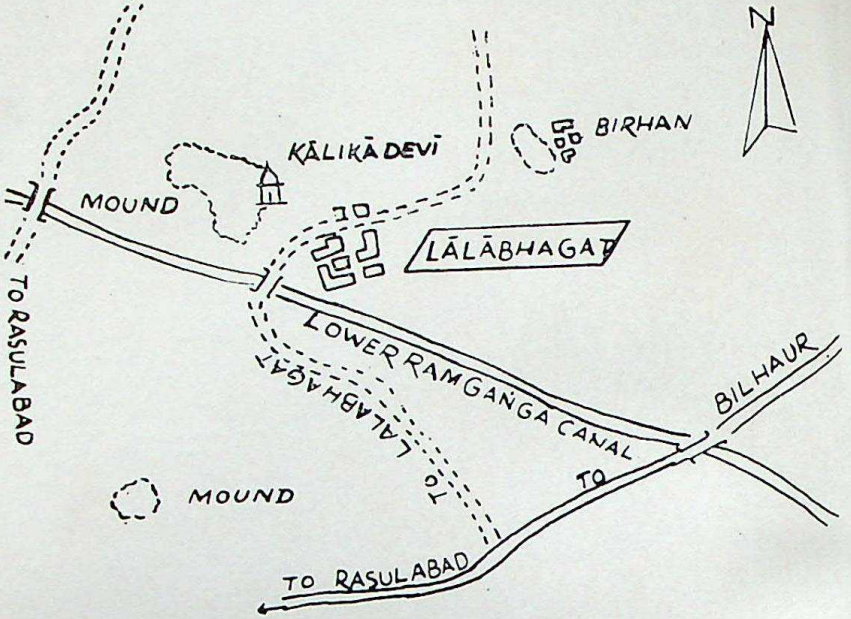

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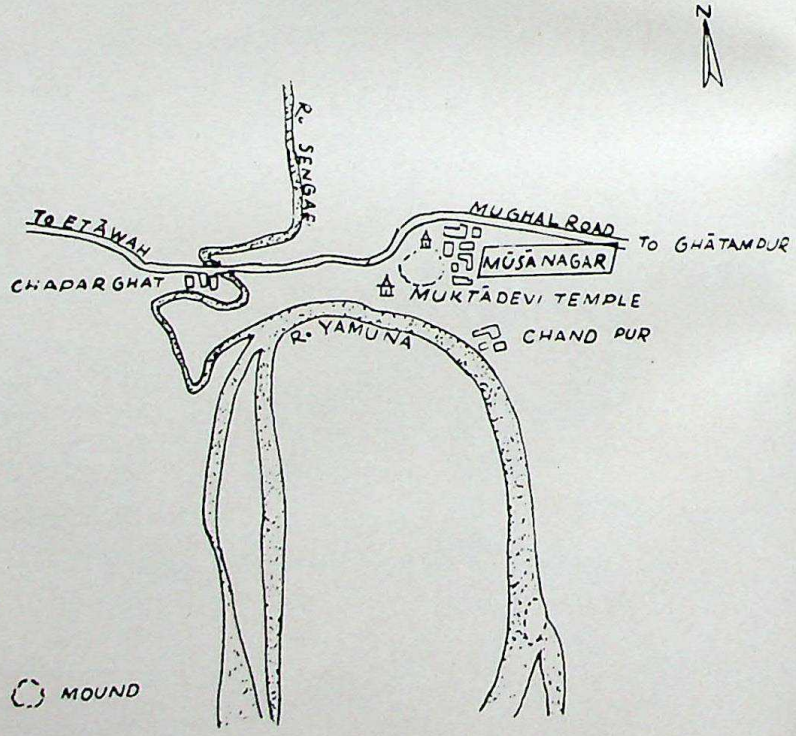

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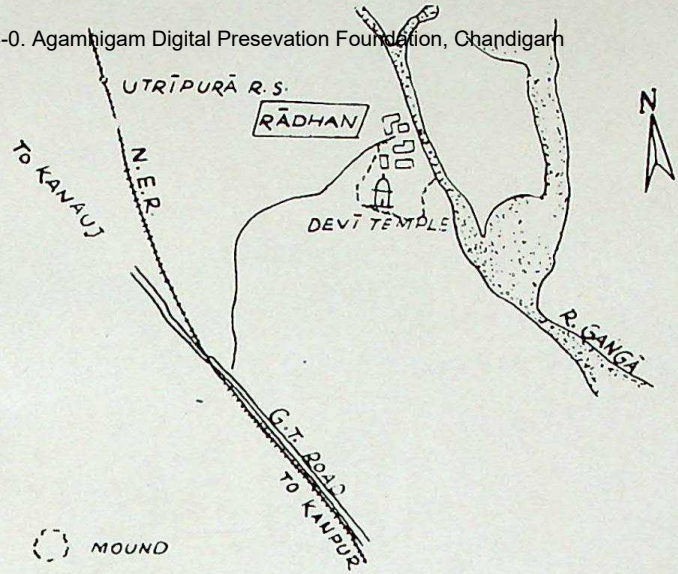

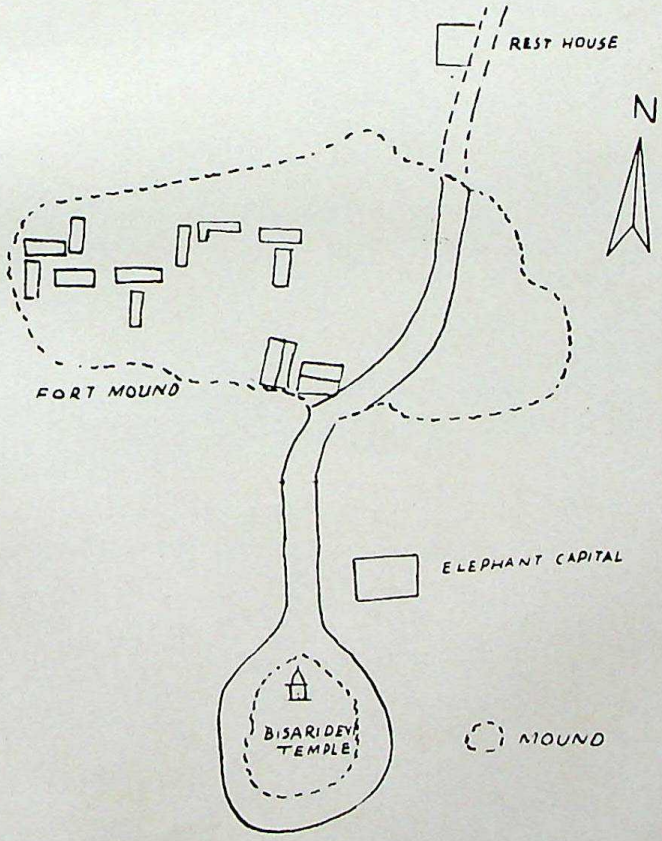

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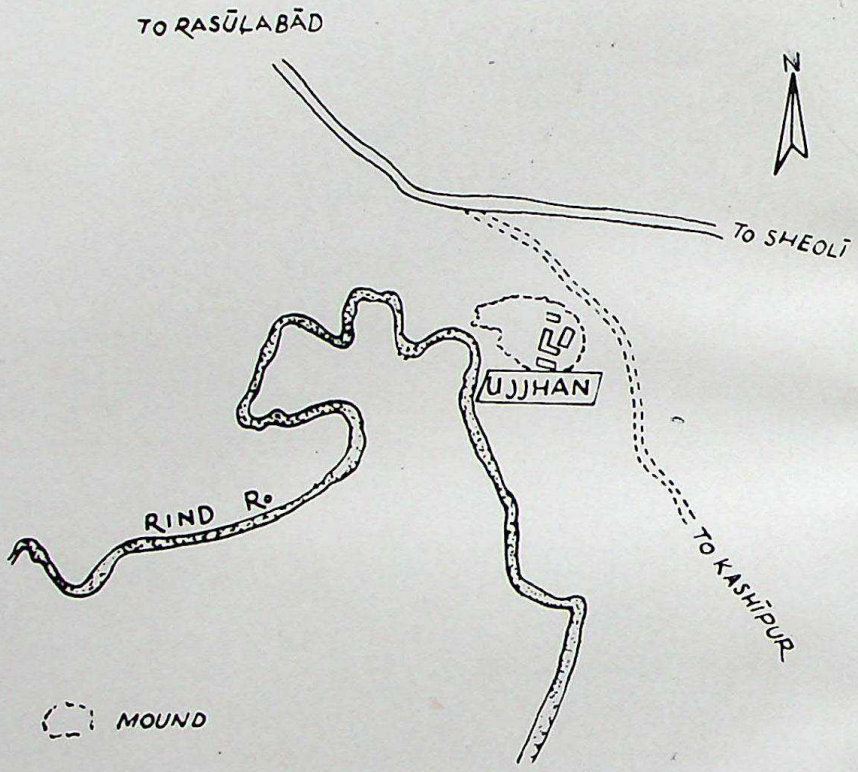

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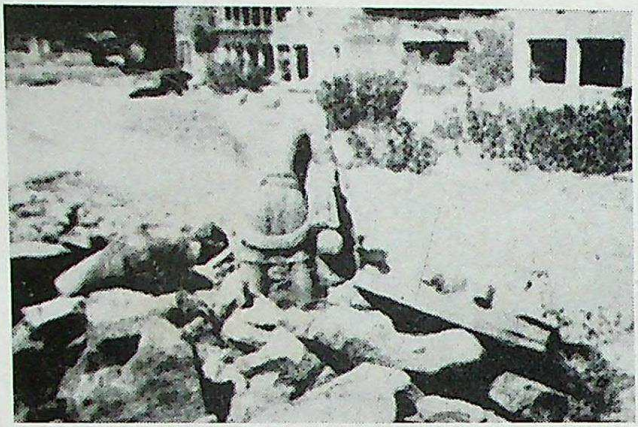

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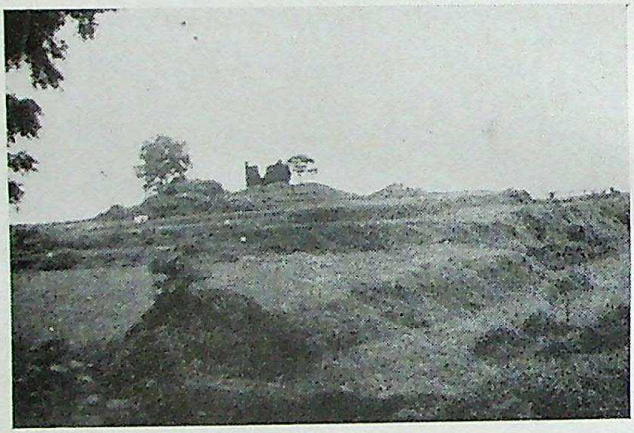

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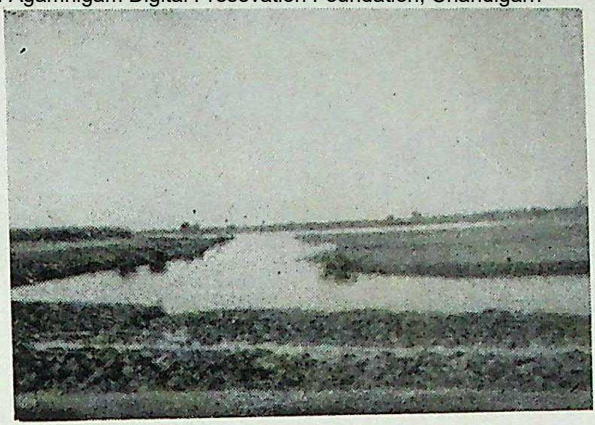

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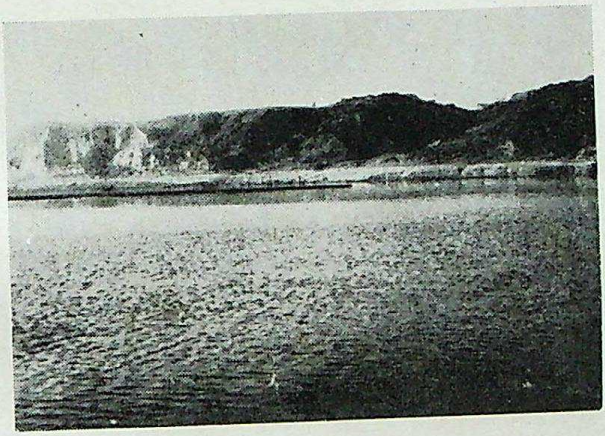

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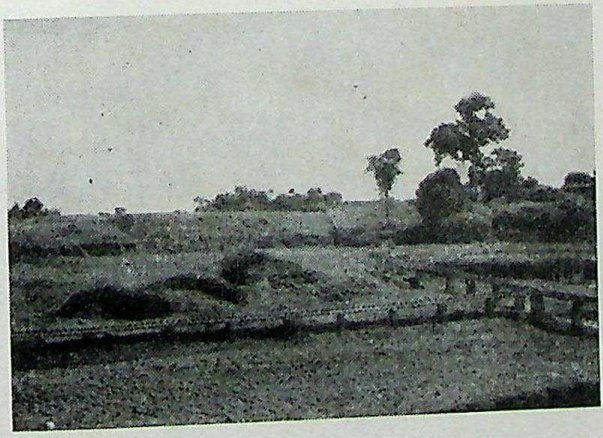

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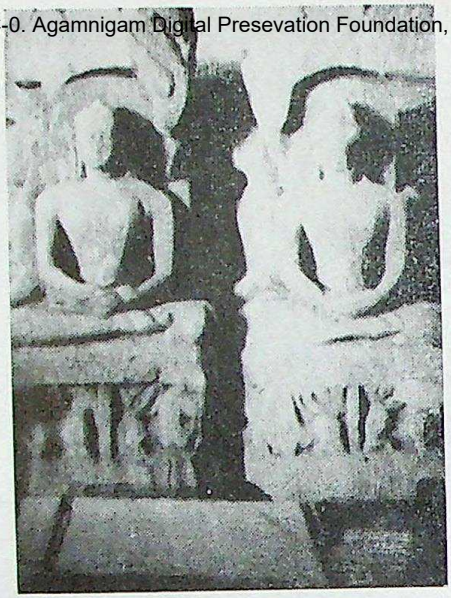

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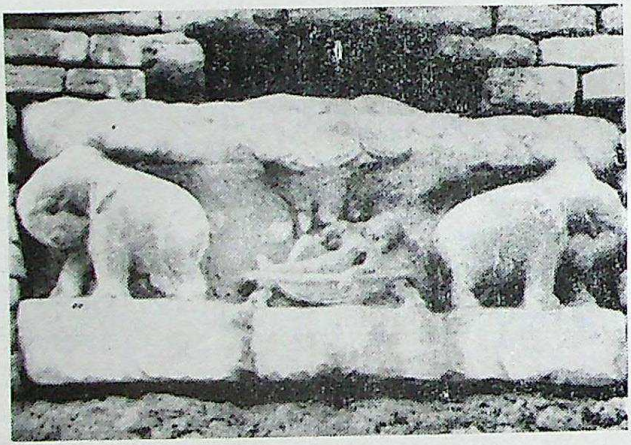

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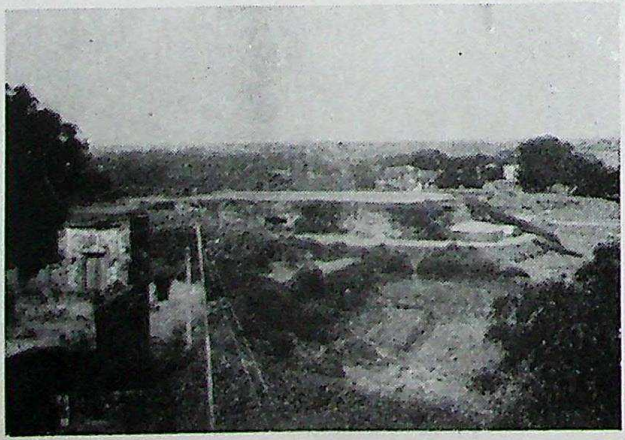

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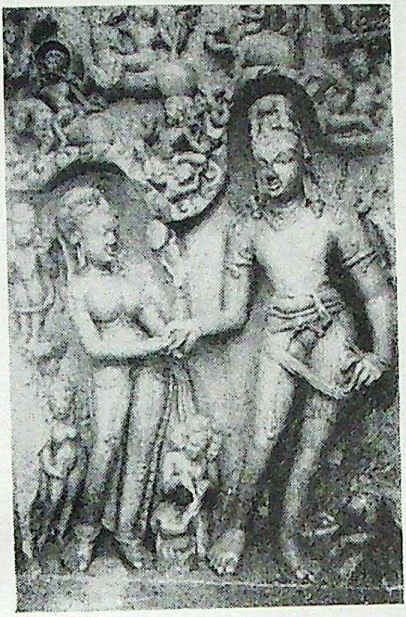

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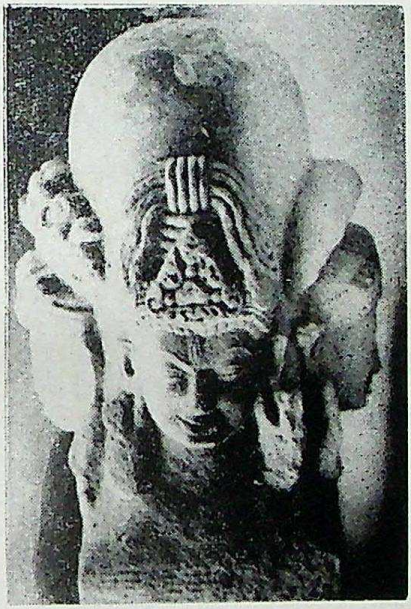

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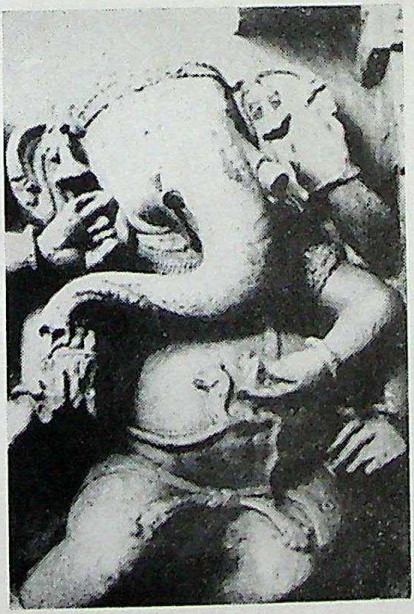

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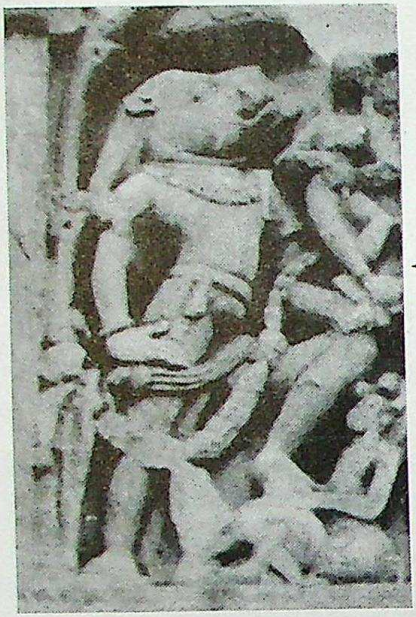

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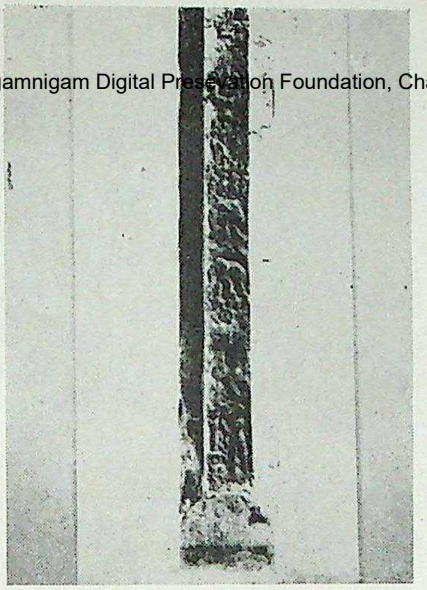

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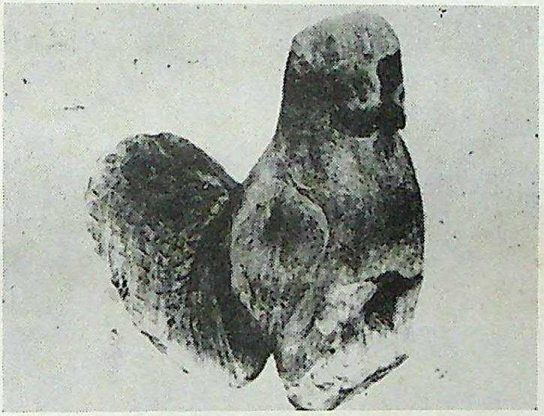

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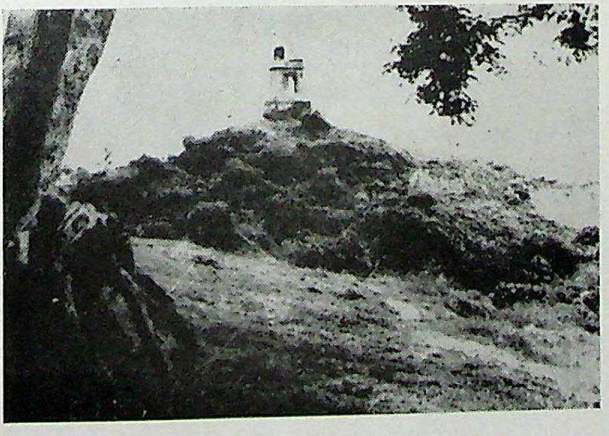

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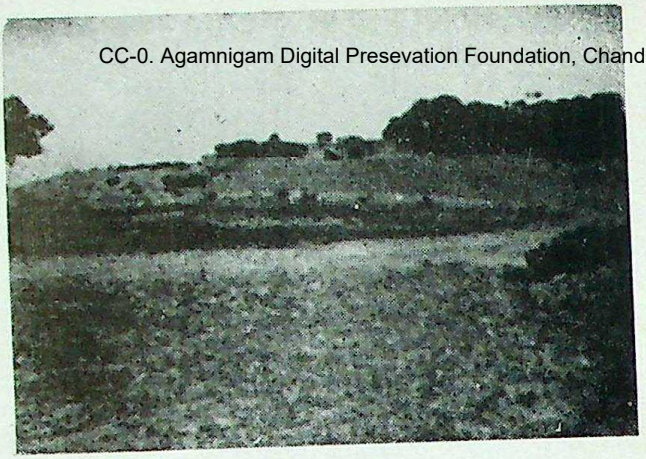

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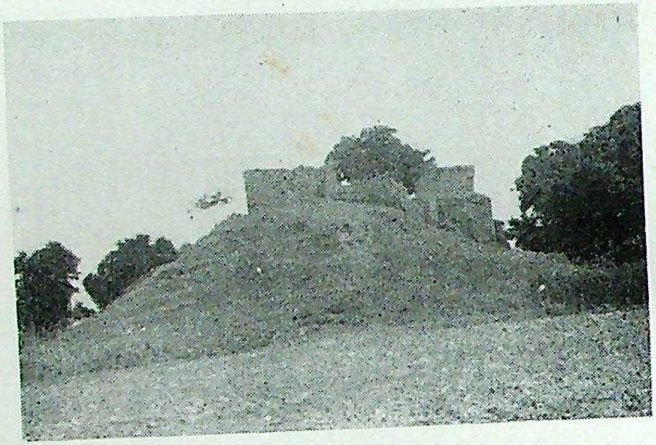

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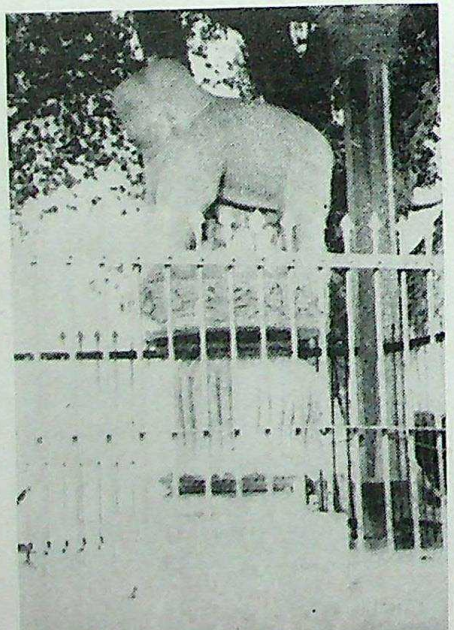

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Janapada was its location in the Doab-valley. History bears testimony to the fact that those who dominated over Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab became the sovereign monarchs of northern India. Harshavardhana left his ancestral seat of government of Thāneśvara and made Kanauj the centre of his political and cultural activities. The chief reason for this appears to have been the fertility and security of the place. After establishing his control over Kanauj he extended his authority over the whole of north India. In the Medieval period also Doab-valley played a very important role. Sultan Allauddin Khilzi very well understood the significance of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley. He once said that without capturing Doab it was difficult to lay down the stable foundation of the Muslim rule in India. Mackinder takes central Asia as the pivot of world politics. In the same manner Doab or Antarvedī can be taken as the pivot of political and cultural activities of this country.[59]

The foregoing discussion would indicate that the region of Antarvedī played an important role in shaping the destiny of north India due to its geographical location. It enjoyed a superior position to other parts of Āryāvarta.

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8

Cultural Geography

The archaeological and literary evidences indicate that the region under study has been the cradle of culture and civilization throughout the historic times. From the available material, it can be gathered that the region watered by the great rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā and their tributaries had been the base of human activities. The places like Biṭhūr, Behtā, Bhītargaon, Jājmau, Jankhaṭ, Kampil, Kanauj, Mūsānagar, Lālā Bhagat, Sankissā, etc. were the chief centres of the political, religious and cultural activities of the people of this area right from the Vedic times to at least the advent of the Muslims in this part of the country.

The rich and varied sculptural wealth, epigraphic records, coins, seals and sealings representing different periods of history beginning from 2nd century B.C. to 1200 A.D. discovered from various sites of this region furnish a concrete proof of a rich cultural heritage of this region.

The area under study had a flourishing terracotta industry. The terracottas range from 2nd century B.C. to 8th century A.D. During the Śuṅga period they were prepared in large numbers. They throw interesting light on the domestic life and amusements of the people.

The articles of bones, ivory and copper have also been found at Sankissā, Jājmau and Kanauj. They show that craftsmen working in different media lived in these towns. It appears that the artists had attained perfection in the execution of the objects of arts and crafts.

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Apart from the ruling classes and the craftsmen, people in general led a prosperous life due to the economic development of the region. They used to build up temples, monasteries and other buildings of public utility. They utilized the locally available material to their advantage. The alluvial soil was good for making pottery, terracotta figurines and for the sun-baked and fire-baked bricks. The cost of buildings must have been within the reach of the middle-class population. The temple of Bhītargaon was local shrine built by the people of the area. It was not constructed by the ruling class. Bhītargaon was not famous like Thāneśvara, Mathurā or Khajuraho. Other significant temples of the region were at Behta, Rār, Paraulī, Sambhua, Nimaniakhera, etc. These temples represent the local building activities of the commoners.

Kampil enjoyed a significant position during the early historical period. It had been the capital of south Paňchāla. It was here that Draupadī, the daughter of King Drupada had chosen of her own accord the five Paṇḍavas as her husbands. The five auspicious incidents of the life of Vimalanātha, the thirteenth tīrthaṅkar are associated with Kampil. The same city is said to have been the place where the Jaina saint Gardabhāli renounced the world and attained the liberation. According to the Vividhatīrthakalpa it was here that the powerful King Durmukha became Pratyeka-Buddha.[1] The Jātaka gives vivid description of a highly artistic tunnel dug out from the river Gaṅgā to the royal palace in Kāmpilya. This point has been dealt with in a chapter of this work.

Sankissā is one of the most sacred Buddhist sites According to the tradition, it was here that the Buddha descended from the trayastriṁśa heaven. The Chinese pilgrims Fahien and Hiuen-Tsang saw here many Buddhist establishments.[2]

Kanauj is the most important site of the region. After the decline of the Gupta power in the 6th century A.D. the town became the pivot of the political power in north India. It remained as such till the Muslim advent in the 12th century A.D. The Maukharis, the Vardhanas, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the Gāhadavālas ruled here one after another. They not only made it a great centre of political supremacy but also a cultural centre of considerable literary and artistic achievements. From about the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. this town rose to eminence. During the following centuries it assumed the envious position of being the foremost town of the country.

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The cultural and religious importance of Kanauj grew tremendously under Harshavardhana. His efforts made Kanauj the premier town of Madhyadeśa. To the observant eyes of Hiuen-Tsang it must have appeared as a great cosmopolitan town, whose inhabitants were equally divided between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The Chinese pilgrim saw one hundred Buddhist monasteries and more than 10,000 brethren who were students of both the vehicles. The Deva-temples numbered more than two hundred. The non-Buddhists were several thousands in number.[3] The citizens were given to learning of literature and fine arts. They were clear and suggestive in discourses. Hiuen-Tsang praising the people of Mid-India states: "They are pre-eminently explicit and correct in speech, their expression being harmonious and elegant, like those of *Devas*, and their intonation clear and distinct, serving as rule and pattern for others."[4]

The monasteries of Kanauj were far-famed as centres of education. One such institution was Bhadra-Vihāra where Hiuen-Tsang himself stayed for three months and studied under the direction of Vīrasena, who was a celebrated doctor of three *Piṭakas*.[5]

Harsha convened his great assembly at Kanauj. The assembly was attended by "the Kings of eighteen countries of the 'five Indian', three thousand priests thoroughly acquainted with the great and little vehicle, besides about three thousand Brāhmaṇas and Nirgranthas and about a thousand priests of the Nalandā monastery."[6] He brought the tooth-relic of the Buddha from Kashmir and enshrined it in a Sanghārāma in Kanauj.[7] Again we are informed that he had erected many topes on the banks of the river Gaṅgā and the Buddhist monasteries at the sacred Buddhist places.[8] We further learn that "he regularly held the quinquennial convocation; and gave away in religious alms every thing except the material of war. Once a year, he used to summon all the Buddhist monks together, and for twenty one days supplied them with the regulation requisites. He furnished the chapels and liberally adorned the common halls of the monasteries. He brought the brethren together for examination and discussion, giving rewards and punishments according to their merit and demerit."[9] Thus as a result of the benevolent exertions and untiring attention there was a growth of Buddhism in Kanauj. Fahier in the early quarter of the 5th century A.D. could find

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only two monasteries of small consequence in Kanauj. But Hiuen-Tsang noticed in the 7th century A.D. as many as one hundred.

According to Hiuen-Tsang, Harsha used to embark a fourth of the revenue from crown lands for rewarding the high intellectuals and another one fourth for gifts to various sects.[10] He made endowments to Nalandā, the great centre of Buddhist learning. One of his gifts to this university consisted in the construction of a magnificent *Vihāra* or temple covered with brass plates by the side of principal monastery, about one hundred feet in height.[11]

After Harsha Buddhism got a great set-back. During the period of the Pratīhāras and the Gahadavāla rulers Hinduism flourished in this area. The architectural remains found in and around Kanauj clearly attest to the glory of Kanauj as a centre of Vedic-Purāṇic religion. The numerous remains scattered here and there are a pointer to a great artistic achievement between the 7th and 12th centuries A.D. A number of images of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Karthikeya, Gaṇeśa, Durgā, etc. have been discovered in a very large number. Durgā is generally found at Kanauj in the Mahiṣāsuramardinī form On some of such images, the goddess is shown in the usual pose, throwing all the weight of her valour to crush the demon. The abundance of the images of Durgā in the region attest to the prevalence of Devī-cult in this region.

The Buddhist remains at Kanauj are, however, conspicuous by their absence. Although the Chinese travellers have referred to several Buddhist structures in and around the old city of Kanauj, we do not find any Buddhist sculptures or any architectural remains worth mentioning, to confirm their statements. The Jaina art-objects, on the other hand are more numerous. Mostly they belonged to a period between the 9th and 11th centuries A.D. Some Nāga and Nāgī images have also been noticed.

From the discovery of numerous Brahmanical remains found in this region, it can be said that the area became a great centre of Hindu religion and art during the Pratīhāra and the Gāhadavāla periods. The great Hindu renaissance of the time offered an all-perversive outlook and must have succeeded in moulding the life and thought of the people. Hinduism found its patronage in the ruling dynasties of Kanauj who played an important role. The Gurjara-Pratīhāras, the Gāhadavālas, the business-community and the masses were mostly followers of the Vedic-Purāṇic religion.

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The ruling dynasties of the region were great patrons of learning and literature. Their liberal patronage attracted distinguished scholars to Kanauj. Some of the scholars associated with the city were Raviśānti, Viśākhadatta, Bāṇabhatta, Mayūra, Dhāvaka, Divākara, Bhavabhūti, Vākpati, Rājaśekhara, Kshemīśvara, Lakshmīdhara and Śrī Harsha. All these writers have enriched Sanskrit literature in its various fields like poetry, drama, fiction, poetics, astronomy and other branches. Importance of their contributions to Indian literature and culture is considerable indeed. Rājaśekhara pays a tribute to the people of Pañchāla. He says that they appreciated 'elegant and new composition'. He describes the works of its poets as 'well constructed' and the mode of their recitation as 'pouring honey in ears'.[12] He also refers to the learned gatherings' of Kanauj before which his dramas were enacted.[13] In his Kāvyamīmāṁsā we find mention of the *Kāvya-goṣṭhīs* and *Sabhās* convened by the Kings for testing the merits of literary composition of the participants.[14] In one such *Goṣṭhi* at Kanauj, poet Vākpati was requested to celebrate the life of Yaśovarman.[15] Bāṇa has also referred to the poetical contests organised by Harsha.[16] The speech, dress, hair-style and ornamentation of the ladies was so fashionable that the ladies of other parts of the country used to copy them.[17]

Some of the above-mentioned writers composed works of considerable significance. Their writings have not only enriched the Sanskrit literature but they also throw a flood of light on the political, religious, social and cultural life of the people during the period of their composition. Viśākhadatta, composed three dramas, namely the *Mudrārākshasa*, the *Devīchandraguptam* and the *Rāghavānanda*.[18] The complete text of the last work is not available, but its abstracts are found in the writings of other writers. The abstracts from *Devīchandraguptam* have been quoted by several later writers. This work throws interesting light on the episode of Dhruvadevī, the beautiful queen of Rāmagupta, son of Samudragupta. The *Mudrārākshasa* is drama of a new style. Because of its certain unique features, it stands alone in the whole of Sanskrit literature.

Bāṇabhatta was the illustrious writer and court-poet of Harshavardhana. He composed two outstanding works, the *Harshacharita* and the *Kadambarī*. The *Harshacharita* is an outstanding work, which gives a vivid account of the life of Harshavardhana. It

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also furnishes in detail the contemporary cultural life in its manifold aspects. For the study of the geography of the period, the *Harshacharita* is an important work. The *Kādambarī* is also another work which testifies to the great literary achievements of Bāṇabhatta. Mayūra's chief works were the two poetic works, the *Sūryaśataka* and the *Mayūraśataka*.

Vākapati or Vākapatirāja was the court-poet of Yaśovarman. He wrote a Prakrita Kāvya *Gauḍavaho*. It contains a detailed information about the chivalrous deeds of King Yaśovarman. It is interspersed with descriptions of land-scapes, seasons, the sunrise and sun-set, mountains, rivers and temples. His style of writing is generally free from artificial word-puns. He excels in depicting scenes from the village life.

Bhavabhūti was the great Sanskrit dramatist, second to none except Kālidāsa. He composed three dramas, viz. the *Mālatimādhava*, the *Mahāviracharita* and the *Uttararāmacharita*. All the three dramas were enacted at Ujjain.[19] In his plays he styles himself as *Pada-Vākya-Pramānjña*, which proves that he was well up in grammar, mīmāṁsā and nyāya. His works contain references to several geographical Janapadas, mountains and rivers.

Rājaśekhara was the court-poet of the Pratīhāra ruler Mahendrapāla. We learn from his work, the Bālarāmāyaṇa that he composed six works, of which, now only five are available.[20] They are: the *Karpūramañjarī*, the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, the *Bālabhārata* and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. The first four are dramas. The *Kāvyamīmaṁsa* deals with *Rasas*, *Guṇas* and *Alaṁkāras*. His style of writing, language and expression are lucid and charming. His works throw much light on the geographical, religious and cultural life of the period.

Kshemīśvara contributed to literature two works, viz. the *Chaṇḍakauśika* and the *Naishadhānanda*. His first play deals with the legend of King Harischandra of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. The other work is based on the story of Nala.

Śrī Harsha was the court-poet of Vijayachandra and Jayachandra, the two Gāhadavāla rulers. He wrote a Mahākāvya known as the *Naishadacharita*. From this work we learn that he wrote eight other works.[21] They are : the *Sthairyavichāraprakaraṇa*, the *Vijayaprāśasti*, the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*, the *Gauḍoraviśakulaprāśasti*, the *Arṇavavarṇana*, the *Chhandaprāśasti*, the *Śivabhaktisiddhi*, and *Navasāhsāṅkacharitachampū*. The Naishādhacharita is a brilliant

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composition and is counted among the main great poetic works of Sanskrit literature.

After the Gupta period, art and architecture had an exquisite growth at Kanauj and its vicinity. During the reign of Maukharis and Harshavardhana a number of artistic temples and images were made. The Pratīhāras continued the earlier artistic traits. Kanauj became a great seat of Hinduism, particularly, the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava faiths. During this period many temples of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Devī were constructed. This fact is testified by the art-relics found at Kanauj and the region around. These art-pieces clearly indicate that during the period from the 8th and 10th centuries A.D. Kanauj acquired the premier position in the field of fine arts in the country. The sculptures found here usually represent Viṣṇu, Mahāviṣṇu, Śiva, Kārtikeya, Gaṇeśa and Durgā [22] The sculpture showing the *Kalyaṇasundara* aspect of Śiva and Pārvatī ranks very high from the artistic point.[23] The pose of Śiva and Pārvatī has been tastefully depicted. The sculptures of four armed Viṣṇu with Śri and Bhudevī and of Mahāviṣṇu are very important from the icnographic point. So are the images of Ekamukha and Chaturmukha Śivalingas. Some figures of dancing Gaṇeśa have also been found here. The sculptures of Brahmā, Indra, Varāha, etc. also indicate a high degree of workmanship.

The sculptural wealth of Kanauj indicates that the artists of this art-centre were not only well-versed in carving the anatomical details but were equally expert in delineating the aesthetic beauty and the spiritual significance. Some sculptures of the early Medieval period showing the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara have also been discovered at Kanauj, Kampil, Mūsānagar, and several other sites. This furnishes a proof that there were some Jaina temples at various sites of the region. It is, however, surprising that no Buddhist relics worth mentioning have been noticed at Kanauj or near about. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang has referred to a large number of Buddhist remains in and around Kanauj.

Apart from the relics of architecture and sculptures of Kanauj, Sankissā, Kampil, Jājmau, Mūsānagar and a few other sites have yielded beautiful terracotta figurines, beads and other ornaments and several other relics of minor arts. All this art material goes to show that the region under study made tremendous progress in various aspects of fine-arts.

The high degree of intellectual and aesthetic attainment discerni-

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ble in literary works and the art-relics discovered at various sites eloquently prove that the region made considerable progress in the field of literature and other fine-arts.

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OPINIONS

Dr. Paul's book is a helpful contribution to the studies in History, Culture and Geography of South Panchal Personal explorations in the area concerned added new material and brought the information upto date. The method in which all the data have been dealt with is convincing. The book in all its intended brevity is handy and useful.

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Dr Paul has made an intensive study of the art and archaeology of Panchala against the geographical and socio-economic background and demonstrated the seminal role which this region played in the development of Indian polity and culture ever since the Vedic age and more so since the Mahajanpadas. The work is critical and well-documented. With a comprehensive coverage and will be an important source of reference as well as pleasant and informative study for a scholar and the lay reader.

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